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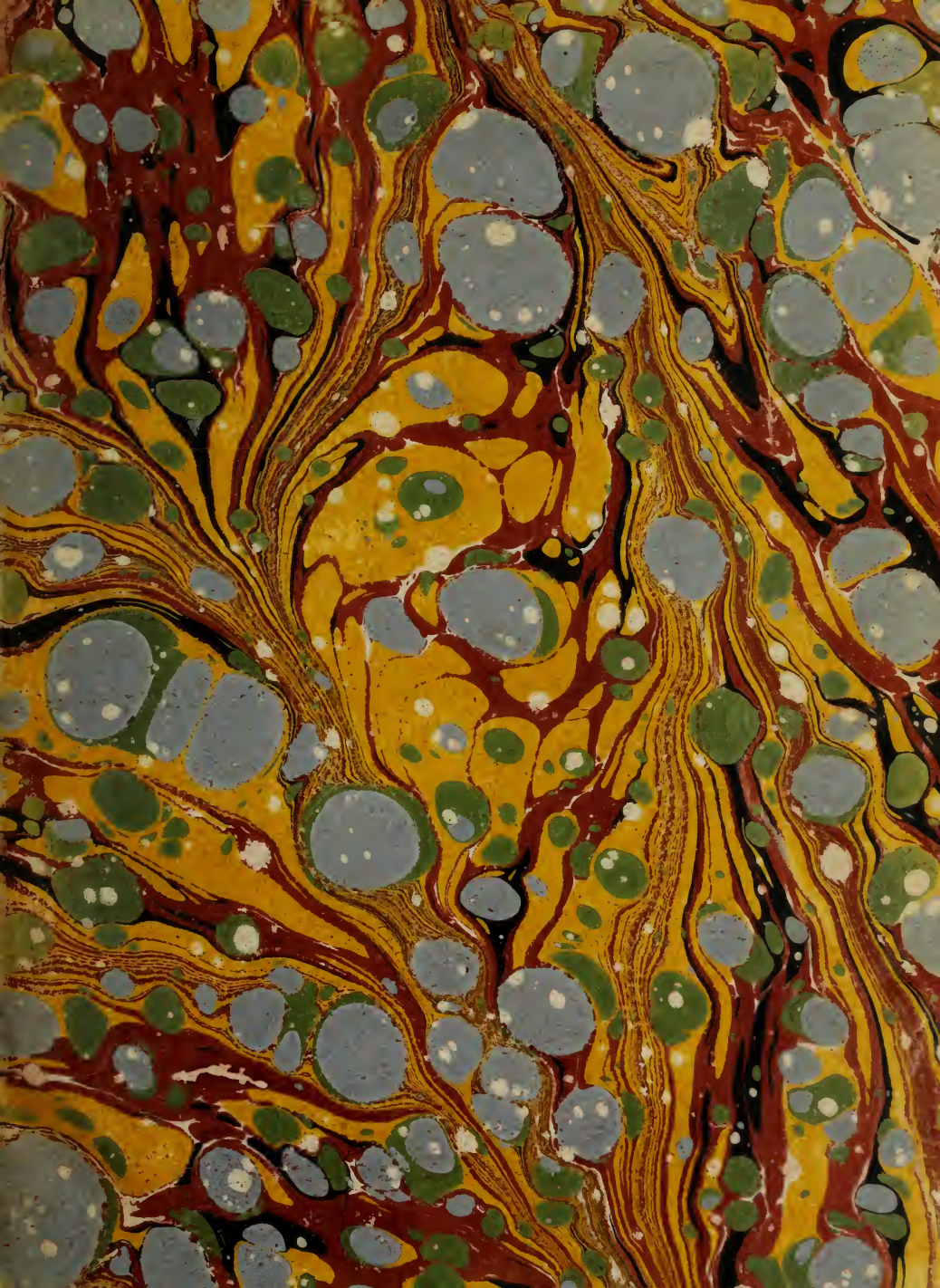

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A True

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Author of a Book entituled

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ,

OR,

The Pourtraiture of His Sacred Majesty in His Solitudes and Sufferings.

WITH

An Answer to all Objections made by Dr. *Hollingsworth* and others, in Defence of the said Book.

Published for Publick Satisfaction, and in Vindication of the Author hereof.

Veritas est Filia Temporis,

ET

Magna est, & prævalebit.

Some Men have turned aside to vain Janglings, understanding neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm.

LONDON,

Printed for *Nathanael Ranew* at the *Kings-Arms* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. 1692.

ACCOLINT

A Modeſt and Faithful Account

OF

Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

The Introduction.

IF Dr. *H.* had been pleaſed to conſult me by Word or Letter, before he had ſo falſly accuſed me, of telling a falſe Story (which, if I may not ſay, might have been expected in Juſtice, or at leaſt in common Civility, yet I will ſay) he had not only been kinder to me, in ſaving me this unexpected, and unwelcom labour; but juſter to himſelf, in not anſwering a matter before he heard it, and by preventing the appearance of making more haſte than good ſpeed, by a teeming impatience, to be delivered of a falſe Conception.

And tho' by his Reproachful Charge, he hath given me ſufficient provocation, and by his haſty writing without due information, no leſs advantage, to reply in ſuch a ſtyle as he hath choſen to begin in; yet in this Vindication, to which he hath conſtrained me by unavoidable neceſſity (unleſs he expects that as a *Felo de ſe*, I ſhould by ſilence, give conſent to his unjuſt Calumnies) I ſhall keep that modeſt temper which becomes one, who deſigns no Perſonal Quarrel, nor writes for Victory, but Truth, the ſearch and diſcovery of which, needs no Tricks, no little Arts, or big Words, but is beſt attained by ſedate proceeding, and plain and open dealing.

And to evidence my Reſolution, to keep ſtrictly to this Method, I ſhall ſubjoyn theſe particulars by way of Introduction.

Firſt, That I will not meddle with any thing but what concerns my own juſt Vindication, my inclination not allowing me to do more; for I ſhould greatly rejoyce to find the Title of the Doctors Book made good, as near as is poſſible, worthy of that Excellent King of happy memory; whoſe Honour, I believe, is better ſecured by the Reputation of his acknowledged Wiſdom, Celebrated Vir-

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tues, Exemplary Patience, and Christian Magnanimity in his Sufferings, than by such Defenders; and either needs none, or deserves one more considerate and better inform'd, who might avoid such mistakes, as I meet with, in that part of the Postscript wherein I am attacqued; for one remarkable flaw mars the beauty of a whole Piece; and palpable Errours cause all the Truths with which they are mixt, to be doubted of, and call'd in question; and Defences so managed, overthrow their own design and end, and usually, do more harm than good.

Secondly, I solemnly appeal to the Searcher of Hearts, Avenger of Falshood, and Revealer of Secrets, that I will write nothing, of the Truth of which I am not throughly persuaded, and that by as full Evidence, as I judge such a matter of fact needs, and at such a distance of time, is capable of.

Thirdly, I will with undisguised openness, produce the means by which I know what I profess the knowledge of, and the Reasons upon which I believe what I profess the belief of, and the probable Arguments upon which my Opinion is grounded, as to those particulars concerning which I pretend no more than thinking them to be as I declare them.

And having with Honesty and Candour laid down such means of my knowledge, such Reasons of my belief, such probable Arguments for what I think; I shall willingly submit them to the Judgment of every indifferent Reader: And if they be not cogent and convincing to bring him to be of my mind, let him retain his former Sentiments; but withal I beg his leave that without his censure or displeasure, I may retain mine, till Means of Knowledge, Reasons of Belief, Arguments for thinking otherwise be produced, which in an even ballance may out-weigh mine.

And when I meet with such, I promise to yield without contumacy, or exacting Miracles for my conviction; for tho' I cannot allow every random Story, and ill grounded Conjectures, for good Evidence, nor dare follow an *Ignis fatuus*, or esteem a *Will-in-the-Wisp* to be a safe Guide, yet will I not rebel against the Light, when as clear as the Sun at noon day, to which, tho' Dr. *H.* hath been pleased to compare his Arguments, I doubt not, when I come to examine them, to make it appear, it had been an extravagant Hyperbole, to have likened them to the fainteſt Moon-shine.

SECT.

SECT. I.

THE Queſtion in debate being concerning the Author of that famous Book, intituled Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, or the Pourtraiture of His Sacred Majeſty in his Solitudes and Sufferings, whether it were written by that Royal Martyr, or ſome other hand? And an Opinion being raiſed, that Dr. *Gauden* wrote it, (which ſpread and prevailed much upon a *Memorandum* of the E. of *Angleſey*'s coming to light, which his Lordſhip had writ in a blank Leaf before the ſaid Book;) and, (by reaſon of the Relation I am known to have had to him) I having been often asked what I knew, or thought of that Report, having declared the ſubſtance of what I am now forced to publiſh more fully. And this being the ſuppoſed Crime for which Dr. *H.* hath handled me ſo roughly, as to accuſe me, to have aſſiſted an Objection, againſt the King's being the Compoſer of it, to the utmoſt of my power with a falſe Story: In order to wipe off ſo raſh, not to ſay ſo rude an Accuſation, I ſhall with all poſſible clearneſs proceed by theſe five Steps.

Firſt, I will declare what I know of this Book, and by what means, and what I believe of it, and for what Reaſons.

Secondly, I will produce ſuch probable Arguments, as confirm my ſelf, and may ſatisfie others, that I am not miſtaken nor deceived, nor would deceive others.

Thirdly, I will diſtinctly conſider, and fully anſwer, all that Dr. *H.* hath produced to the contrary.

Fourthly, I will endeavour to give ſatisfactory Anſwers to the Objections I meet with from an abler Pen.

Laſtly, I will declare why I have acknowledged ſuch my knowledge and belief, when requeſted, and ſet down my Reaſons, for ſo doing; 1. Negative. 2. Poſitive.

And by theſe Steps, I hope, I ſhall free my Reputation from that odious Reproach, of being guilty of aſſiſting an Objection by a falſe Story; at leaſt I ſhall free my ſelf, from confirming by my ſilence, what I judge to be an Errour.

SECT. II.

I Know, and believe, the Book, whoſe Author is enquired after, was written by Dr. *Gauden*, (except two Chapters writ by Biſhop *Duppa*) ſo far as the ſubjoyned means may produce ſuch knowledge, and the Reaſons may induce ſuch belief. Firſt,

First, Dr. *Gauden*, some time before the whole was finished, was pleased to acquaint me with his design, and shewed me the Heads of divers Chapters, and some of the Discourses, written of them; and after some time spent in perusal, he vouchsaft to ask my Opinion concerning it; and after some consideration, according to the freedom he gave me to speak my thoughts; I told him, I supposed it would be much for the King's Reputation, Honour and Safety: But I expresly added, I stuck at the lawfulness of it, and modestly askt him, how he satisfied himself so to impose upon the World? To which he so readily replied, that I concluded he had thought on it before; look on the Title, 'tis the Pourtraicture, *&c.* and no man draws his own Picture which satisfied himself; and tho' we might argue it a little, did at present silence me, my heart being so inclinable to what was the scope of the whole. And I perfectly remember, that in the second Chapter, which is of the Death of the Earl of *Strafford*, there being these words, which now in the Printed Book of the first Edition. are *page* 8. *l.* 18, 19, 20. '*He only* '*hath been least vext by them, who counselled me, not to consent against* '*the Vote of my own Conscience.* He told me whom he meant by that passage, *viz.* the then Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Juxton*, which, tho' most Readers understand now, after it hath been so long spoken of, yet many then did not, of which number I was, my Age rendring me less acquainted with the Characters of Great Men.

Secondly some good time after what had passed, as is related in the preceding Paragraph, we being both in *London*, and having dined together, Dr. *Gauden*, in the afternoon, desired me to walk with him to a Friend, when we were gone part of the way; He told me he was going to the Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Duppa*, (whom he had acquainted with his design) to fetch what he had left with his Lordship to be perused: Or to shew him what he had further written; and as we drew near his house he desired me that after a little general conversation I would withdraw and leave them two alone, which accordingly I did; and when they had been some considerable time together, He came forth, and we return'd: As soon as we were in the street, he gave me this account of their conference.

'My Lord of *Salisbury* told me, there were two Subjects more, He wisht I had thought on, and propounded them to me, *viz.* The 'Ordinance against the Common-prayer book: And the denying 'his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains. (Which are now 'the 16th, and 24th Chapters in the Printed book,) and desired me

'to

'to write two Chapters upon them, which I promiſed I would. 'But before we parted he recall'd that requeſt, and ſaid, I pray go you on, to finiſh what remains, and leave theſe two to me. I will prepare two Chapters upon them, which accordingly he did, as Dr. *Gauden* own'd to me, and others whom he had made privy to the whole, and never pretended to have written theſe, as he did to have done all the reſt.

Thirdly, Dr. *Gauden* ſome time after the King was murdered, upon my asking him, whether He, (the King) had ever ſeen the Book, gave me this anſwer; 'I know it certainly no more than you, but I us'd my beſt indeavours that he might, for I delivered a copy 'of it to the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, when he went to the Treaty at 'the Iſle of *Wight*, and intreated his Lordſhip, if he could obtain any 'private opportunity, he would deliver it to His Majeſty, and 'humbly deſire to know his Majeſties pleaſure concerning it. But the violence which threatned the King haſtning ſo faſt, He ventured to print it, and never knew what was the Iſſue of ſending it. For when the thing was done, he judged it not prudent to make farther noiſe about it, by enquiry.

Fourthly, I once asking him (for we ſeldom were in private, but ſomewhat was diſcourſt of this Book even to the laſt time I ſaw him, after he was Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter* Elect) whether that King *Charles* the Second knew that he wrote it. He gave me this Anſwer, 'I cannot poſitively and certainly ſay he doth, becauſe he 'was never pleaſed to take expreſs notice of it to me. But I take 'it for granted he doth, for I am ſure the Duke of *York* doth, 'for he hath ſpoken of it to me; and own'd it as a ſeaſonable and 'acceptable ſervice, and he knowing it, I queſtion not but the King alſo doth.

Fifthly, Mr. *Gauden* his Wife, Mr. *Gifford*, (who tranſcrib'd a Copy of it, if I be not much miſtaken, and which Copy I think was that ſent to the Iſle of *Wight*, tho' in this I am not ſo poſitive) and my ſelf believ'd it as much as we could believe any thing, and when we ſpake of it in his preſence, or in his abſence, did it without the leaſt doubt of his having writ it; being as much aſſur'd of it, as 'twas poſſible we could be of any matter of fact, and 'tis unaccountably ſtrange, that all we who had the beſt reaſon, and faireſt opportunities to know the truth, ſhould all be deceived or impos'd upon, which we were to the higheſt degree imaginable, if Dr. *Gauden* wrote it not.

Sixthly Dr. *Gauden* delivered to me with his own hand what was

laſt

laſt ſent up (after part was Printed, or at leaſt in Mr. *Royſtons* hand to be Printed,) and after he had ſhew'd it me, and ſeal'd it up, gave me ſtrict Caution, with what wariness to carry and deliver it; and according to his Direction, I delivered it, Saturday *Decem.* 23. 48. in the Evening to one *Peacock* (Brother to Dr. *Gaudens* Steward, or Bayliff, ſometime before deceaſed) who was inſtructed by what hands He ſhould tranſmit it to Mr. *Royſton*, and in the ſame Method a few days after the Impreſſion was finiſhed, I received ſix Books, by the hand of *Peacock*, as an acknowledgment of that little I had contributed to that Service, one of which I have ſtill by me.

SECT. III.

Containing ſuch probable Arguments as confirm my ſelf, and may help to convince others, that I am not deceived, nor would deceive them, by a falſe Story, in what I have declared in this matter.

Firſt, DR. *Gauden* in the beginning of the long Parliament, which carried on the War againſt the King, preach't before them, on *Zech.* 8. 19, laſt words, *Love the Truth and Peace*, which Sermon was Printed, and the Houſe of Commons preſented him with a large Silver Tankard with this Inſcription. *Donum Honorarium Populi Anglicani in Parliamento Congregati*, Johanni Gauden, *&c.* which conſtantly went about his Houſe. And He had been inclinable to the Parliaments Intereſt, till He found they went beyond their firſt Pretenſions, and the expectations of Himſelf, and other good Men. But when He diſcover'd that, He endeavour'd to redeem his Errour, τῇ ἀμετείᾳ τῆς ἀνθολκῆς, by bending to the contrary extream.

And I am perſwaded it was this, which put him upon the deſigning and finiſhing of this Book.

Secondly, The ſecond probable Argument, may be drawn from the 14th Chapter, which is upon the Covenant. And I beg pardon for relating this matter more minutely, than may ſeem neceſſary; that it may appear how, and by whom I was furniſhed with it, to render it more cogent.

After the Book was publiſhed, being in Diſcourſe with my worthy Tutor, Dr. *J. Barwick*, who died Dean of St. *Pauls*. I being privy to the Truth of this affair; out of curioſity ask'd him, what He thought of this Book? He, ſo well knowing my Education

tion and Principles, wondered to hear me ask such a Question. I beg'd his Pardon, and told him, the thing being doubtfully spoken of, I made bold with him to ask his Judgment. Well then, said He, I will prove it to you. And thus attempted it, it was writ by himself, or by some other man, but it could be writ by no other, therefore by himself. I desired him to prove his second Proposition, which He did thus: If by another, it must be an enemy, or a Friend; but neither Enemy nor Friend could do it; therefore it must be himself.

I once more desired him, to prove his second Proposition, which he attempted thus; not by an Enemy, for no Enemy of the King would represent him so much to his Advantage; not by a Friend, for no Friend of the Kings would write, as He doth, of the Covenant.

Now, how easily could I have reply'd; tho' at present I acquiesced, that Dr. *Gauden*, though now a most hearty Friend to the King, had himself taken the Covenant, which we may rationally conclude, had induced him to write more favourably of it, than any of the Kings Party or Friends, or the King himself would ever have done.

3. Third probable Argument may be drawn from *Chap.* 16. and 24. which as I shew'd before (*Ref.* 2*d.*) Dr. *Gauden* told me, were written by Bishop *Duppa*; for the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer, and denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplains, were Subjects, which Dr. *Gauden* was less concerned to think on; for 'tis well known, He had forborn the use of the Common-Prayer, (tho' 'twas continued longer in his Church than in any thereabouts) and had never been the Kings Chaplain, but Bishop *Duppa* having been the Princes Tutor, a long time Chaplain, and a Bishop; was as mindful of these particulars, and as much concern'd to be so, and with as great reason as any man living could be, and therefore first desired Dr. *Gauden* to write on these Subjects but after recall'd that Motion, and undertook to do it himself, which he also performed, as I shew'd before; and his free declaring, that he had neither thought of these Subjects, nor wrote of them, which it was so unlikely he should, renders it very probable he spake Truth, in declaring that he wrote the rest.

4. I meet with expressions in the Devotional part, very frequently us'd by Dr. *Gauden* in his Prayers; (for he used conceived Prayer both in his Family, and in Publick,) which I never heard from any other Man, and 'tis very easie to observe, that most Men, even in ordinary Conversation, and more especially in their Prayers, tho' they vary in their method, have peculiar Phrases, and

Modes of expreſſing themſelves; and where we find ſuch occur, 'tis a probable evidence, they proceed from him, to whom they were peculiar.

5. I am as ſure, as I can be of any thing, that Dr. *Gauden* made the Extract out of this Book call'd, I think, *Apophthegmata Corolini-ana*. I am ſorry I have not one by me, to give a fuller account of it. But the thing is moſt notorious, that there was ſuch a Book came out, in a very ſhort time after, Printed by Mr. *Dugard*. Now why ſhould Dr. *Gauden* concern himſelf ſo much more than any other of the Kings Friends, and diſpatch it with ſuch expedition, had he had no more concern in it than other men; and had not been inabled to finiſh it ſo ſpeedily, and could with ſuch readineſs take it in pieces, and digeſt it into wiſe and weighty Sentences, who had put it together, and whoſe thoughts had dwelt ſo long, and much upon it? I cannot forbear to judge, that to thoſe who will conſider it impartially, it carries the faireſt and higheſt probability to confirm, what is before declared, the reaſonable belief of his being the Compoſer of it; how much more, when all the five are joyn'd together?

SECT. III.

Containing a full Anſwer to what Dr. Hollingſworth *hath written in his* P.ſc. *concerning this Book.*

ALthough the modeſt and faithful account I have given in the former Sections, of what I know and believe of this Book, and the Means of ſuch my Knowledge, and Reaſons of ſuch my Belief, contains a ſufficient Anſwer to whatever I meet with in this P— ſcript, and might ſuperſede my farther Labour; yet, that the Reverend Dr. may not think himſelf neglected, or the Reader, who it may be will not take the Pains to compare them, may have no cauſe to ſuſpect: I wave a diſtinct reply, becauſe I find the task too difficult; and laſtly, becauſe this P—ſc. gave the ſole occaſion, and whole Provocation to my writing upon this Subject. I will now diſtinctly conſider every particular of the P—ſc. which concerns this matter, and either by referring to what is ſaid before (to prevent writing the ſame thing over and over,) or by ſubjoyning a farther clear Anſwer, reply to the whole; for the neceſſary vindication of the Truth, and my injur'd ſelf.

And that what the Dr. writes may have its full Strength; and

He

He have no pretence, to complain any thing is omitted, I will transcribe *Verbatim* all his Words, and subjoin full Answers, adapted to every Paragraph in that part of his P—script, which relates to the Question in debate.

The first Passage begins thus, *Pag.* 37. *Line* 13.

'The last Objection against Him, is his Divine and Holy Book.
'It is not to be imagined with what Industry, they have within
'this last Year endeavoured to perswade the World it was a Forge-
'ry, and not of his compiling: And there is a certain *Essex* Doctor
'of Divinity, who hath assisted this Objection to the utmost of his
'Power, with a false story, which I will presently refute, and set
'the whole in a true and proper Light.

The *Essex* Doctors Reply, to the *Algate* Doctor, who begins thus. The last Objection against him, *&c.*

He could scarce have exprest himself more improperly, if he had studied to do it. We may guess at his meaning, by what follows; but, who ever made this Divine and Holy Book an Objection against him, but rather accounted it his great honour, and from a Man, who writes for Crowned Heads to read, more accuracy and caution might be expected; and this stumble at the threeshold, is no auspicious or lucky Omen, but rather an earnest and tast, of what we are to look for in the Sequel, but these are so small faults in comparison of what follows, they are not worth taking notice of, let them have their pardon of course. I shall wink at such for the future, that I may not seem to trifle, but keep to what is material, insist on things; and not on words.

But I proceed in my reply. Who they be, I cannot imagine, the greatness of whose industry cannot be imagined, to perswade the World 'tis a forgery. But e'ne let them shift for themselves. But if they have half so much to say for themselves, as the *Essex* Dr. hath produced in the first Section, to prove that Dr. *Gauden* wrote it, I see not but they may stand tryal with a better opposer, tho' 'tis hard to meet with a bolder accuser, whose Affirmations are so strong, and whose Confirmations are so weak, for my assisting it with a false story is soon said, but not so soon proved, you now have the story of my own telling, convince me of falshood if you can, do your best or your worst, provided you write in sincerity, producing nothing but what you have as good means to be assured of as I produce for what I know, and as good Reasons for your belief, as I produce for mine. *For Huffing and Hectoring will weigh little with wise Men, and good Nature, and good Manners, may be overcome with too much ill usage, to cause you to be answered as you would not, if you accuse as you should not.*

But why did you not tell the story before you refute it, that it

might be known, whether it were truly that *Essex* Doctors story, (which you rashly call false, or a dream of your own Imagination? You now have the story of his own telling, and you may try your skill at refuting it, when you please, and if you perform that undertaking no better than you do the promise, of setting the whole matter in its true and proper light, I have not so much cause to fear your Confutation, as you have to fear the wo denounced against those who put darkness for light, and light for darkness.

Dr. *Hollingsworths* P-sc. *Ans.* 'I could never obtain leave of my self 'to believe that any man could write at that Divine rate but he that 'felt the miseries, that suggest such thoughts and heavenly Medita-'tions. The various conditions of men, good men, wonderfully help 'them, in their retirements and solitudes, to Divine intercourses and 'aspirations; and He that could counterfeit such things, and make 'such appeals to God, without being in such conditions, as these ap-'peals suppose: Must be rather next to an Atheist, than a good Chri-'stian, and if the *Essex* Dr. had any value for the memory of his de-'ceased Friend, he would certainly have forborn telling it in all pla-'ces, with a more than usual confidence, as he hath done, and that for 'this one Reason.

The *Essex's* Drs. Reply. All this Harangue is but a piece of borrow'd ware, with which Sir *Will. Dugdale* furnisht him, in a short Sentence, in these words. *The unlikelyhood that any such expressions could flow from an Heart not oppressed and grieved, with such a weight of sorrow as his was.* Of which the Dr. hath made none of the best Paraphrase, *to enlarge his Paper.* But let us try the force of it. *I could never obtain leave of my self to believe*, &c. as above. In good time Sir, must then all the World be tied to believe no more than Dr. *H.* will give their Majestys Chaplain at *Algate* leave to believe, be the evidence of matter of fact never so clear? I pray Sir, who made your *Courtesie or Contumacy*, to give your self leave to believe, or not believe the standard of all other Mens Perswasion, or not being perswaded? I have heard much wiser men (than I pretend to be) affirm, that, believing or not believing, depends not upon our own choice, but upon the clearness or cogency of the motives of credibility, or the weakness and insufficiency of them; but let that pass, for my business is not speculatively to dispute, but to prove a matter of fact, and vindicate my self from the imputation of telling a false Story; yet because this Argument hath been often used, I will consider it a little farther, to manifest how weak and unconcluding it is.

'Tis no new nor strange thing for one man to personate another, and

and to write and speak as is suitable to, and usual for men in such circumstances, and frequently when their fancies are warmed, the Copy out-does the Original; and he seems never to have read a Romance, the Poets, Scenical or others, or the Greek and Roman Histories, who cannot give Instances of all the Passions raised, and expressions suitable put into the mouth of them, for whose use they were designed, and uttered with a warmer *Pathos*, than they would have been by the persons themselves, *personated by them.*

But the proof of this is above all exception in Books of devotion (and which comes nearer our case) in which we find the greatest variety of *Prosopopœias*, in Meditations, Soliloquies, Prayers, Ejaculations, Praises, Aspirations, and other Addresses to God, composed by the Authors of them, who cannot be supposed to be in all the conditions themselves, but to fit them for those, who may be in ā condition, in which it will be proper for them to use them. And the reason is obvious, *and easily accounted for.* For tho' I deny not that our affections are kindled by our present circumstances, and surprizing mercies or calamities are Springs of such joy or sorrow, as sharpen and set an Edge upon our Expressions, and instill an Air, an Energy, and suitable Eloquence into them, which the same person could not reach at another time, yet tis also true that they being sudden and unstudied, a kind of Raptures without deliberation, and less Artificial, have a visible inequality in their Contexture, and rise or fall according to the differing pressures, or inlargements, under which men are: St. *Bernard's Rara hora, Brevis mora*, looks this way. And an observation I have heard, seems not despicable, *viz.* that he who prays always alike, may be supposed to pray rather by Art, than by his Heart; the Habits of Art being much more steddy and permanent than the temper and disposition of mens Hearts, which are very mutable and different, according to the circumstances from which they rise.

But when a man designs to personate another, he puts himself in such an ones place, and writes and speaks, what he esteems most fit and suitable to a person in such a condition, and adapts his words and expressions, with second and third thoughts, takes a great deal of pains, uses a studious industry to fit every thought to such a condition, every affection to such a thought, and every expression to be a lively *Icon* of such a passion or affection; so that whatever you will give your self leave to believe, it seems not a whit strange to other men it should be so, as you cannot believe, nor in the least dissonant to right reason and experience, of which Instances might be

be given without number. I beg pardon for this Digreſſion into which the Dr. led me, by an ill-grounded ſpeculation, which makes little to his purpoſe, and I think hath done him little ſervice; yea, will rather cauſe conſiderate Readers to ſuſpect his want of better Arguments, *elſe he would not have had recourſe to ſuch thin and Airy Speculations, which prove nothing but the weakneſs of their Judgments, who put any ſtreſs upon them, and would by them impoſe upon other men.* Yea, give me liberty to add, if the Drs. Argument hath any weight, it ſeems to be in the wrong Scale, and makes that end of the Ballance to preponderate, which he endeavours to make appear the lighteſt; for the evenneſs of the thought and expreſſion, the equality of the ſtyle and affection, and the ſame Thread running quite through from firſt to laſt, rather argues it an Artificial Compoſure of one who had vacancy for ſedate, and deliberate thinking, than of him, for whoſe *Icon* and Pourtraiture it was deſigned, who was encompaſſed with ſo diſtracting an hurry of miſeries, as muſt often change the temper of his mind. But to compenſate for the weakneſs of the former part of this Paragraph, it hath a ſting in its Tail, concluding, 'that if Dr. *Gauden* wrote it, he is next to an Atheiſt, 'and that for that Reaſon the *Eſſex* Dr. if he had any value for his 'memory, would have forborn telling it in all places with more 'than uſual confidence, as he hath done, that is, leſt he repreſent 'him as an Atheiſt.

Eſſex Drs. Reply; to which I ſay in general; My Story repreſents him not ſo like an Atheiſt, as your raſhneſs repreſents you, like a falſe Accuſer, of both him and me; and for this Reaſon, if Dr. *H.* had any kindneſs to the Reputation of his friend, their Majeſties *Algate* Chaplain, he would have conſidered better, before he had publiſht, with ſomewhat more than confidence, ſuch groundleſs Accuſations and ſuch crude, and ill contriv'd Stories; and more particularly, why Dr. *Gauden* more an Atheiſt, for preparing theſe diſcourſes for the King, to be own'd or laid aſide, as to His Majeſties wiſdom ſhould ſeem good: (See Reaſon 3. Sect. 1.) than thoſe who prepare Forms of Devotion for others to uſe, or let alone as they ſee occaſion? And tho' my Story as I tell it, vindicates him from that Imputation, and I am not bound to anſwer for what you forge to be my Story, (being but your own dream) *Quod male dum recitas deſmit eſſe meum.* I farther ſay, that according to the old Axiom, *Amicus Plato, Amicus Ariſtoteles, ſed magis Amica Veritas*; Tho' Dr. *Gauden* were a friend and Biſhop *Duppa* a friend, yet Truth is more a friend, and I ſhould count him no honeſt Caſuiſt, who would adviſe me to tell a Lye

a Lye to ſave my friends Credit, as your words imply, you would have directed me, had I conſulted you in the caſe.

Alg. Drs. *P. ſc.* The Story in ſhort that he (the *E.* Dr.) tells is this, 'That Dr. *Gauden*, then of *Bockin* in *Eſſex*, made this Book, and ſent 'him, then his Curate, to the Preſs with it, which command he obey-'ed, and accordingly did ſo carry it, in order to its Printing.

Eſſex Drs. Reply. Good Sir, uſe fairer play, and be not ſo confident, who accuſe that for exceſs of confidence in me, which hath not the tenth degree of yours, and do not forge and mangle a Story, and then pin it upon me. My Story is honeſtly, and ſincerely told, in the firſt Section, and thither I refer your ſelf and the Reader, for the truth, and a fuller Anſwer to this lame Account, without ſtaying upon ſome palpable miſtakes, becauſe but circumſtantial.

Alg. Drs. *P. ſc.* Now the truth of the Story is this, 'There was one 'Mr. *Simmonds* a learned and pious Miniſter, who lived near Dr *Gau-*'den in *Eſſex*, and who out of a true affection to His Majeſties Per-'ſon and Cauſe, writ a learned Defence of the King, with which the 'King was ſo pleas'd, that he preſently reſolved, that this Perſon 'ſhould have the peruſal and correction of his Book, and according-'ly ſends it by a truſty Meſſenger.

Eſſex Drs. Reply. There is ſcarce a line, which is not liable to juſt exceptions, but ſmall faults muſt be paſt over in one who writes ſo heedleſly, or we ſhould never have done. But there is one ſo notorious, he muſt be blind who doth not ſee it; what then was he that made it? *viz.* that Dr. *Hollingſworth*, and their Majeſties Chaplain at *Algate* do flatly contradict each other.

Here he ſaith, the King ſent it by a truſty Meſſenger to Mr. *Simmonds*, but *pag. 39. l. 19.* that he deſired Biſhop *Juxton* to get ſome truſty friend, to look it over, and put it into exact order. *Non bene conveniunt; one of the two ſhould have had a better memory, or conferr'd Notes, before they had publiſht things ſo inconſiſtent, ſuch palpable difference of Witneſſes, is a ſhrewd prejudice againſt their Teſtimony.*

Algate Drs. *P. ſc.* 'The Book when looked over by him did ſo 'affect him, (and no wonder) that he could not forbear ſending for 'his Neighbour *Gauden*, In order to make him happy with him-'ſelf in the ſight and reading of ſuch an ineſteemable Jewel: Dr. '*Gauden* would not be denied the kindneſs of taking the Book home 'with him, for a few days, which upon importunity Mr *Simmonds* '(knowing the Dr. at that time a well-wiſher to the King) granted: 'Dr *Gauden* preſently falls to tranſcribing of it, and in ſome days, 'with great labour and application finiſhes it, and ſo returns the

'Original

'Original to Mr. *Simmonds* again; within a while the great ſtorm 'coming upon the King, which at laſt God knows wholly overſet 'him. Dr. *Gauden* out of a true affection to his Maſter the King, 'hoping thereby to do him ſervice, ſends this Copy by the hands 'of this Dr. to the Preſs: And ſo far and no farther was he con-'cern'd in it.

Eſſex Dr's Reply. Sir, what with your uſual confidence, you introduce with, *The truth of the Story is thus*, is all meer Story, but not one word of truth, nor hath it the leaſt bluſh or appearance of *Poſſibility*, or ſo much as *Probability*, as I hope to convince your ſelf.

Firſt. Not probable; any Man who knows any thing of the meaſures of Decency, and the circumſtances of the Perſons of whom he writes (as he ſhould be ſuppoſed to do, who preſumes to Dedicate his writings, to ſo wiſe a King and Queen) would have contriv'd his ſtory, and told his tale more handſomely, and would rather have ſaid that the Parſon of *Rayne* who was a very private man had waited upon Dr. *Gauden*, who liv'd at the rate of a Thouſand a year, and made the greateſt figure of any Clergy Man in *Eſſex*, or perhaps in *England* at that time, than boldly and bluntly to ſend for him what ever the occaſion might be; but let that paſs, a ſlip in good manners is a ſmall fault, compared to the impoſſibility of his ſtories being true, for tho' Mr. *Simmonds* was once Miniſter of *Rayne* and Dr. *Gauden* Dean of *Bockin*, which are neighboring Towns, yet I queſtion whether the Men were ever neighbours: And that Mr. *Simmonds* was not gone from *Raine*, Before Dr. *Gauden* came to *Bockin*: But I need not urge that, for what I aver, (and am as ſure of as I can be of any matter of fact, which is moſt notorious) proves the impoſſibility (I charge the Drs. ſtory with) home and beyond contradiction; for before this Book was thought of, or many of the ſubjects had hapned, of which it treats, Mr. *Simmonds* was ſequeſtred for his Loyalty, fled into the Kings Quarters, and on Mr. *Attkins* (a plundered Miniſter as they then call'd them) who was fled into the Parliaments Quarters was placed in his ſequeſted living of *Rayne*: I came to Dr. *Gaudens Auguſt* 1644. and I never knew Mr. *Simmonds* all the while I liv'd there, tho' I knew him well when the book was printing, as I may touch in place convenient, and relate the occaſion of our intercourſe.

Somewhat runs in my mind of his being with my Lord Capel, *who was his Patron, and had given him the Parſonage of* Rayne, *who commanded about that time for the King in* Shropſhire; *but what need I multiply words about what I am not certain of*, when I am as certain, as I can be of any thing,

thing, he was far from being Dr. *Gaudens* Neighbour, or any possibility of sending for him, *how trimly soever, and with a good grace, the Story is told, not much to the credit of the teller of it, or the confirmation of the thing he tells it for; it so exposes it self, it needs no farther confutation; and I will be so kind, as to slip an advantage, of loading it with heavier aggravations, tho' so much provoke't.* If any thing seem to deserve a farther answer, I must request the Reader to call to mind, or read over again my first Section, where there is enough to satisfie him; for I never pretended to carry the whole to the Press, but as is there honestly declared a part of it. I proceed to the 2d Paragraph, *p.* the 38. *Algate* Drs. *P. sc.* And whereas 'tis said, 'That Dr. *Gauden* told 'K. *Charles* II. he made the Book; the truth of the Story is this, that 'he putting in for the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, and meeting with 'some opposition from Bishop *Sheldon*, the King askt him, what pre-'tences he had to so great a favour, he answered, that he put out 'his Fathers Book, which answer, tho' true in some sense, yet being 'ambiguously spoken, as it got him the Bishoprick, so it also gave 'rise to the late Earl of *Anglesey*'s *Memorandum*, which hath made 'so great noise in the World.

Essex Drs. Reply. Good Sir, if a man should be so bold as to ask a few Questions, would you answer them as roundly as you would chouse the World with this Dream? 1. I pray Sir, did you hear all this? 2. Have you any man of truth or modesty to produce as a Voucher? 3. In sober sadness do you in cool blood believe it your self? 4. Or to speak home, will you confirm it by your solemn Oath, as the *Essex* Dr. is ready to do, the Story with which he will confront it? '*The truth of the Story is this*; so you say, but *pace vestrâ*, by your good leave, I cannot *obtain leave of my self* to believe one sentence in all your ten lines, and for a better reason than you give for your incredulity, where you use that phrase; and my reason (how silly and weak soever it may seem) in plain English is because there is not one *wise*, or *true* word, in all this, (most falsly call'd) *Truth of the Story*.

And I even wonder, that Providence should furnish me with so exact a knowledge of this affair, which I thought of little use before, till it inabled me to confute this *shameless* fiction; *and I will for once be as confident as you, and say*, the truth of the Story is this, as I had it from Bishop *Gaudens* own mouth, immediately upon his nomination, to be translated from *Exeter* to *Worcester*. But before I relate his words to me on that occasion, let me make some few remarks upon some particulars. 1. *Whereas 'tis said Dr.* Gauden *told K.* Ch. II. *&c.* whoever said so, said what was not so. He never told him. See Sect. 1.

Reason 4. 'Tis strange he should himself tell the King, and yet not know the King knew it, but by inference, because the D. of *Y.* did. 2. *He putting in* for the Bishoprick of *Worcester* (let that uncouth phrase pass.) But he did not put in for *Worcester*, but rather was put off with that instead of *Winchester*, pardon the expression, what follows will justifie it, at least excuse it. 3 *The King askt him, &c.* still worse and worse; the King askt him no such question, nor was there the least shadow of occasion why he should, and the Bishop never answered, as is said he did; for no Question needed no Answer. 4. Ambiguously spoken; not spoken at all, therefore not spoken ambiguously: *remember the Logick Rule, Ab est primi adjecti, ad est secundi valet negatio.* As for Instance, if a man be not their Majesties *Chaplain*, he is not their *Chaplain* at *Algate*, unless it be helpt out, with speaking *ambiguously*. 5. Helpt him to that Bishoprick, *(Sc. Worcester)* instead of *Winchester*. He was right enough served, for speaking so ambiguously, if he had so spoken. 6. *Gave rise to the late E. of* Angleseys *Memorandum.* In good earnest, Sir, were you awake when you dream'd all this? Was the King *(Ch.* the II.) who was known to be a man of extraordinary sagacity and quickness, in discerning mens temper and words, so easily imposed upon and cheated by a fallacy, to believe what it was his Interest, more than any mans, not to believe but upon most cogent evidence and convincing reasons? and to tell it so freely, and with assurance to the E. of *Anglesey*, as his *Memorandum* declares with all due circumstances; so that his *Memorandum* may sleep in a whole skin, for all these dreams; but of that more in due place hereafter. Having past these short remarks upon the particular passages, I shall now confront *his truth of the Story*, with this *Story of Truth*, in the Bishop's own words.

Only give me leave before I relate his words, to say, (that besides the friendly freedom, which he always used to me, in kind communicating his concerns to me) I can guess but at two reasons, why he should tell me so fully and punctually what I shall presently relate. Either, 1. It was to prevent my being surprized at his missing *Winchester*, which some who were most intimate with him, knew he had the promise, and upon that the expectation of; Or, 2. Providence stoopt so low, to furnish me with a clear Reply to such a sensless feigned dream, as I am confuting by it. Now follow Bishop *Gaudens* words to me on this occasion.

'After the Death of the Bishop of *Winchester*, I next morning 'waiting on the King, found a remarkable alteration in him: His 'Majesty was, *sad*, uneasie, and out of his usual good humour and tem-

'per;

'per; I could not but obſerve it, but at preſent took no farther notice
'of it; the ſecond morning I found him ſo, as much, or rather more,
'than on the preceding day, yet neither then did I take any notice
'of it to him, but when I had a ſhort time waited on him, withdrew;
'but the third morning having been fully inform'd that my Lord
'Chancellor had, by himſelf and all the Intereſt he could make, preſt
'the King to beſtow the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* upon the Biſhop
'of *Worceſter*, Dr. *Morly*, I thus Addreſt my ſelf to his Majeſty. Sir,
'with all humillity I beg your leave to ſpeak to you, and your Ma-
'jeſties Gracious Pardon for It. Sir, I well know, not only how
'well becoming, but how much it is the duty of every good Subject,
'to contribute to the eaſe and ſatisfaction of his Prince. And
'I cannot but conceive, that your Majeſty is in ſome ſtreight, between
'the Honour of your word, by which you graciouſly pleas'd to Pro-
'miſe, I ſhould Succeed my excellent Friend the late Biſhop of *Win-*
'*cheſter*: And the importunity, by which you are preſt in the behalf
'of another: I therefore with greateſt willingneſs, releaſe you free-
'ly of that Promiſe. Here, ſaid the Biſhop, the King ſtopt me:
'Vouchſafed to embrace me in his Arms, with theſe expreſſions.
My Lord, I thank you, and it may not be long, ere I have opportunity to ſhew you how kindly I take it. And in the mean time, *you ſhall have* Worce-
ſter, *and to make it to you as good as I can, all the Dignities of that Church (I know not how it comes to paſs) being in my diſpoſal, I give you the diſ-
poſing of them all, during your time, that you may prefer your Friends, and have them near about you.*

And now I appeal to the Judgment of every conſiderate reader, whether this ſtory, which I had for the ſubſtance, and to the beſt of my memory, in the very words, from Biſhop *Gaudens* own mouth, when the thing was freſh and recent, carry the faireſt and moſt likely characters of truth, or the *Algate* Dr's ſtory: *For which he brings no proof, but his own meer ſay ſo, as indeed it is impoſſible he ſhould, for, this muſt be a true ſtory, or elſe a dream and viſion of my own Imagination; the latter of which, it is both Naturally, and Morally, next to impoſſible it ſhould be. Firſt, Naturally, for I never pretended to ſo pregnant an Inven-
tion as to deviſe a ſtory ſo ſelf conſiſtent, in all its parts, for falſhoods will not jamm or hang coherently together, be they told with never ſo good a Grace, and Magiſterially cram'd down Mens belief with huffing menaces, and hectoring Rhetorick: To fright men to ſwallow them, at their peril: For fear of being counted contumacious. Witneſs the flaws and incoheren-
ces, of all the* Algate *Dr's. Narratives, of this matter, catcht up from uncertain Rumours, and pieced out with groundleſs phancies of his own ad-
dition inconſiderately.*

Secondly, *Morally impossible, for* Nemo gratis nequam. *No man will lie without advantage, much less to create prejudice to himself.* And I am sure there is not so much as the appearance of a temptation to induce Dr. *Gauden* to tell it me, (as I solemnly aver he did) if it had not been the truth, nor to me to feign it in cool blood, and deliberately to appeal to the God of Truth and Righteousness, as a Witness and Avenger, which I neither would or durst do to gain the World.

This might abundantly suffice to answer the *Algate* Dr's. *Sham* Story, concerning the Bishoprick of *Worcester* in the second Paragraph of his *P. sc.* yet, tho' I be well aware that over-doing is for the most part undoing and adding probabilities after clear and full evidence doth more harm than good, and, like setting shores and props to a strong house, creates suspition, that 'tis tottering or like to fall without them, yet I will for once run that risk and hazard, and add these three Arguments, to confirm what is before affirmed.

1. 'Tis highly probable that Dr. *Gauden* had the promise of *Wincheſter* (obtained by his most entire Friend Bishop *Duppa*, who besides the Power he had with the King, having been his Tutor, could unriddle to him (as questionless he did) the whole Affair of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, to which he had been not only privy, but a party, and plead that to obtain the favour of that promise for him) because divers of his intimate Friends had knowledge of his expectation, to succeed in that See; and why should he abuse his *Best* Friends with a groundless Flam?

2. Because the King *was so uneasie*, and deferr'd some days to give it Dr. *Morly*, notwithstanding all the Interest made for him, and His Majesties own inclination to him, as having been beyond Sea with him in his Banishment; why not give it presently as soon as vacant, but after some days demur; and uneasiness, till his promise was released by him to whom 'twas made?

3. (I will venture to reveal a secret at this distance, which was then industriously conceal'd, to prevent being made matter of sport upon the disappointment.) The Great House built by Sir *Dennis Gauden*, the Bishop's Brother, upon *Clapham* Heath, in which Sir *Dennis* after lived *and I think now Mr.* Ewers, was built, (as I was assured by one who knew it well) to be the Mansion-house of the Bishoprick of *Wincheſter*, being in that Dioceſs; for 'tis well known that *Wincheſter-house* beyond the Bridge had been pulled down, and turn'd into Rent and Tenements, and another was to be built or bought in lieu of it, by the Bishop, and setled as a Mansion-

sion-house for that See, as after *Winchester-house* in *Chelsea*, was purchased by Bishop *Morley*, and made part of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, tho' before in the Bishoprick of *London*; these Dioceses being parted by the *Thames*.

I could add many more circumstances relating to this Affair, but at present forbear, as judging them needless.

I am at length arrived at the third and last Paragraph of the *Algate* Drs. *P. sc.* which is to compensate and make amends for all the impertinences of the preceding; for thus it begins.

Algate Drs. *P. sc.* 'But to put all things out of doubt concern-'ing this Book; give me leave to tell this Story: I was not ma-'ny weeks ago in conversation with Sir *John Brattle*, a worthy per-'son, and who hath long enjoy'd a considerable Office in the 'Royal Mint, with whom discoursing about King *Charles* the First, 'and particularly of the suspicions raised of the truth of the Book. 'He frankly told me, and assured me the truth of this Story; that 'in the year 47. King *Charles* having drawn up the most conside-'rable part of this Book, and having writ it in some loose Papers 'at different times, desired Bp. *Juxton* to get some friend of his, '(whom he could commend to him as a trusty person) to look it 'over, and to put it into an exact Method; the Bishop pitcht up-'on Sir *John*'s Father, whom he had been acquainted with for 'many years, who undertaking the Task was assisted by this his 'Son, who declares he sate up with his Father some nights, to as-'sist him in methodizing those Papers all writ with the King's own 'hand. Thanks be to God, Sir *John* is yet alive, and is ready to 'give the same Account to any man that asks him.

Essex Drs. Reply. *Jam ventum est ad Triarios.* Sir *John Brattle* is a person whose name I do not remember I have heard before, and therefore make no Judgment prejudicial, or of disadvantage to the Character here given of him. But as the *Algate* Dr. tells the Story, I doubt it may prove as meer a Story as the rest. *But before I come to my particular Remarks upon it, I confess 'tis not unpleasant to observe, that when the Dr's. hand was in at Coyning Stories, which I have proved to be of both so base Metal, and false an Impress, he should have recourse to the Royal Mint, to borrow a more Authentick Stamp; for what else can an Office there add to a Testimony in a matter of fact?*

But with all due respect to Sir *J. Br.* I would ask the Dr. a few Questions.

1. May it not be possible, without any diminution of Sir *John*'s veracity,

veracity, that in more than forty Years, there may be some mistake of other Papers for these, or some other lapse of Memory, about a matter in which he was concerned but once or twice; and that but transiently and on the by; or was Sir *John*, who must be then a young man, and 'tis likely, but in a private capacity, so well acquainted with the Kings hand, which 'tis probable he had seldom or never seen? I believe few private *Country* Youths, or young Gentlemen, are so very well us'd to their Soveraigns hand-writing, as to make a Critical Judgment of it, and to be able with assurance to distinguish it, from the writing of all other men.

2. I would gladly know when and where the King desired this of Bishop *Juxton*, for I refer my self to those who lived in those times, & observed the passages of them, whether they ever so much as heard that the King and Bishop *Juxton* saw each other, after his Majesty was driven from *Westminster* by the Tumults, till he was violently brought to St. *James*'s, Jan 19. 48 .to be tried and barbarously murdered. The King indeed then obtain'd leave for the good man to come to him, and assist him *in extremis*, for neither his Age, nor Character permitting him to be serviceable to him in following him in the Wars, He liv'd Private and Retir'd, and, I never heard he saw him, till upon the sad occasion forenamed, and that was after the Book was Printed.

Thirdly, Supposing, but by no means granting, that the King had desired Bishop *Juxton*, as is said, to desire a trusty Friend to do it; why another rather than the Bishop himself? Had the King any Friend more trusty than Bishop *Juxton?* or was He too good, or above doing such service for his Master, who had not a Servant who honoured and lov'd him more; or was He too busie to attend it, when he was wholly out of all imployment, and injoy'd the most undisturbed privacy and quiet, of any man that had serv'd the King in any eminent degree? Or was Bishop *Juxton* less fit and able, than a private man, when the Book consists of Policy and Piety? and who a fitter Judge of what concern'd the first, than one who had so long been Privy Councellor, and Lord High Treasurer of *England*? And for the second he was one on whom the King rely'd, as much, or more, than on any Man, for the conduct of his Conscience; as appear'd by his singling him out, to be with him in his Preparations for Death, and upon the infamous Scaffold of his Martyrdom; and who was so able a Divine, that tho' his Publick Imployments, hindred him from Preaching often, yet when He did, perform'd it so well, I remember I heard a Bishop, who was able to judge, say: He thought him one of the

the moſt excellent Preachers He ever heard, and gave Inſtance in a Sermon He heard him preach, at Court, of Repentance. And why muſt Biſhop *Juxton* deſire another man to do that work, for which (had there been any ſuch work to be done) He himſelf was the fitteſt man alive, for Fidelity, for Ability, for Inclination to his Maſters Service, and for vacancy and leiſure?

4. Laſtly, I pray which of theſe ſtories, in your P—ſc. would you have us believe? Your firſt of ſending it to Mr. *Simmonds* by a truſty Meſſenger? or your laſt of the Kings own delivering it to his truſty Servant Biſhop *Juxton*? *They cannot both be true; if that, not this, if this not that; they are ſo contrary, we muſt ſuppoſe the* Algate *Dr. the Relater of the One, and their Majeſties* Algate *Chaplain the Relater of the other. I confeſs the doubt is too hard for me to ſolve. I muſt e'ne leave it to be agreed betwixt themſelves.*

I might add, I have heard near half a dozen ſtories about this Book, all as inconſiſtent with one another, as theſe two. Yet all told with equal aſſurance, a ſufficient prejudice againſt them all, with all unprejudiced Perſons.

Algate Dr. P—ſc. 'And whoſoever after this, will ſuſpect this 'Book, is certainly a man of that temper, who will keep up his pre'judices againſt this great man, in ſpight of all evidences, tho' as 'clear as the Sun at Noon, and for my own part I muſt tell him, 'that I think it not worth the while to attempt his farther ſatisfacti'on, becauſe *nullum remedium Deus poſuit contumaciæ.* God Almigh'ty hath not provided a remedy, for reſolved ſtubbornneſs, in the 'ordinary courſe of dealing with men: and if nothing but miracles 'will convince them, I have no Commiſſion to pretend to them.

Eſſex Drs. Reply. Sir, tho' I will not vapour and huff my Reader, with comparing what I have truely, ſincerely, and as in the ſight of God written; concerning my Knowledge and Belief about this Book, fairly declaring the means of my Knowledge, and the Reaſons of my Belief, to the Sun at Noon as you think good to compare your waking Dreams, and random gueſſes (which deſerve not to be likened to the light of the Moon, a day before, or after its change) yet I abhor keeping up prejudices againſt that great and excellent Prince; and have only given the account in the firſt and ſecond Sections, and reply'd to your ſlanders and reproaches (which extorted from me this unwelcome labour,) to clear my Reputation; you having according to your Talent, as *Mephiboſheth* complain'd of *Ziba* ſlandered me, (to the whole Nation) and to my Lord the King, by preſuming to dedicate ſuch ſtuff to their ſacred Majeſties.

And

And if you perſiſt to ſlander, *ne videaris erraſſe*, I leave it to all impartial men, (I could almoſt ſay to the moſt partial, who will compare and weigh, before they cenſure) to judge between us, where lies the ſtubbornneſs, but however, I refer my ſelf to the Righteous Judge to determine betwixt us, who beſt knows the ends and deſigns, which put you upon writing ſo raſhly, on a Subject for which you appear ſo ill furniſht; and me, whom you have conſtrained to it, in a neceſſary vindication of my ſelf and the Truth.

And tho' you conclude, with a modeſt diſclaiming a pretence to Miracles, let me at parting adviſe you to take courage, for if you ſatisfie any wiſe man, by ſuch weak and inconſiſtent Arguings, as that part of P—ſc. conſiſts on, in which the *Eſſex* Dr. is concerned, 'tis that Drs. opinion, your performance may vye miracles, with any Miracle-Mongers celebrated in thoſe *Roman Legends, which as one wittily ſaith, were written with Leaden Heads and Brazen Fore-Heads.*

SECTION IV.

I Shall in the next place ſay ſomewhat to another Paper, publiſh'd ſome months before, of the ſame ſubject, *Intituled, Reſtitution to the Royal Author*, &c. which I confeſs, I was then deſired to anſwer, but forbore, not being perſonally concerned.

But Dr. *Hollingſworth* having forced me to what I have now done, it ſeems neceſſary to add ſome few remarks upon this Paper, leſt my not taking notice of it, ſhould be misinterpreted, to be a tacite acknowledgment, of ſome difficulties in it, not to be grapled with.

And I muſt do this Author the right, to own him to be a Perſon of another figure, than I have had to do with in the preceding Section: One who writes not *extempore*, *Quicquid in buccam (in calamum)* catches not up every groundleſs Report and flying Rumour, and Ecchoes it back as an Oracle: But ſeems to have weighed and conſidered what he writes, endeavouring the beſt Information he could get; and hath driven it as far as it would go, and relates in ſome particulars what is true, and puts ſome colour of Probability upon thoſe in which he is miſtaken, or was ill informed, and does all with modeſty and candor, and as becomes a man who hopes to obtain what he aims at, by ſober Reaſon and dint of Argument, not by Hectoring and noiſie Clamour, and I ſhall treat him as a Perſon who deſerves this Character, which *ex animo*, I give him, and hope He will not count me an Enemy, for telling him the Truth, but eſteem it rather kindneſs than rudeneſs to ſhew him where he is miſtaken.

And

And first, I shall set down, as he himself hath done, the Earl of *Anglesey*'s *Memorandum*, for furnishing me with which, I give him my Thanks; for though I have seen the Original in Mr. *Millington*'s hand, I had no Copy of it ready by me.

MEMORANDUM.

" KING *Charles* the Second and the Duke of *York*, did both (in " the last Sessions of Parliament, 1675, when I shewed them " in the Lords House the written Copy of this Book, wherein are " some Corrections and Alterations, written with the late King " *Charles* the First's own Hand) assure me, that this was none of " the said King's Compiling, but made by Dr. *Gauden* Bishop of " *Exeter*: which I here insert, for the undeceiving others in this " Point, by attesting so much under my Hand.

ANGLESEY.

Now this Gentleman is pleased to raise three Objections against this *Memorandum*, to enervate the Force and Credit of it; notwithstanding which Objections, I think this *Memorandum* very authentick, and an unconquerable Evidence to prove the Truth of what I have so sincerely declared concerning this Book: and in a just Vindication of it, I will first answer all his Objections produced against it; and farther, subjoin a Remark, which I hope may be of some use, and therefore not unacceptable, which could be given by no other Pen.

First Objection; 'It calls the Duke, his then Royal Highness, 'The Duke of York, which was no Court-Language in 1675, there 'being neither Reason nor Custom for such a length of Distinction 'at that time.

Answ. 1*st*, *Loquendum cum vulgo*; and I appeal to Experience *if he were not call'd the Duke of* York *ten times to once that he was call'd His Royal Highness; and for the length, the former is the shorter of the two.* But he proceeds in the same Objection; 'Now it is somewhat un- 'likely, that a Person of Honour and a Courtier, especially one of 'my late Lord *Anglesey*'s sense, should be guilty of such an Impro- 'priety.

Answ. No Impropriety at all; especially, if we consider this was not spoken in Court, but privately writ in a Leaf before the Book:

for in such like cases, even Courtiers confine not themselves to the Punctillios they observe in speaking or in writing what is to be publish'd.

2. I hope I may convince himself, how weak, and non-concluding this Argument is, by a Passage with which he hath furnish'd me in the same *Page*, line 36, 37. viz. *His pt. Majesty King* James *the Second*; if that Abbreviation pt. stand for present, as I perceive 'tis generally believed to do, let us form two parallel Arguments. His Argument against the Earl of *Anglesey*'s being Author of the *Memorandum*, runs thus; 'A Courtier, and a Person of such sense as 'the late E. of *Anglesey*, could not write this *Memorandum*; because 'tis unlikely such an one should be guilty of such Impropriety of 'Language, as to call his then Royal Highness, Duke of *York*, which 'was no Court-Language in 1675. Very good.

Now suppose it should, in time, be questioned, Whether this Gentleman wrote the two Sheets, call'd *Restitution*, &c. and one should argue against it, with a parallel Argument, A Man of such sense could not write them, because 'tis somewhat unlikely, that he could be guilty of such Impropriety of Language, as to call him, *His present Majesty King* James *the Second*; which is neither Court-Language nor Country-Language in 1691. Now what think you, Sir, would this Argument exclude you from being the Writer of these Sheets? If not, why should a less Impropriety of Language, exclude the E. of *Anglesey* from being the Writer of this *Memorandum*? especially, if we consider, (that supposing, but not yielding) if he expresst himself not like a Courtier, 'twas a private Note in a Leaf of a Book, which might be seen, or never seen; and you have made yours publick to the wide World.

2. Second Objection; 'We are informed by the Advertisement, 'that in the written Copy of the Εικων Βασιλικη, there are some 'Corrections and Alterations written with the late King *Charles* the 'First's own Hand, which is no contemptible Argument, if we had 'no other, that the King was the Author; otherwise we should be 'at a loss for the Reason of his Majesty's correcting the Manuscript, 'and suffering it to pass under the Title of his own Composure.

Answ. What the Corrections by the King's own Hand seem to you to be an Argument of, seems to me quite contrary; and I assuredly believe, this corrected Copy was that sent by the Marquess of *Hertford* from Dr. *Gauden*; as I gave account, *Sect.* 1. *Reas.* 3. on

on purpose to be corrected, allow'd, or laid aside, as his Majesty should think good. See the Section referr'd to.

And if the King himself had been the Author, *Why was not the Book in his own Hand-writing, as well as the Correction and Alterations? or why any Corrections, of a fair Copy, if he had finished the Original himself before 'twas copied?* Or why, if he sent it to be printed, did he not send the corrected Copy, rather than an imperfect one, which needed his Correction and Alteration? These Considerations confirm me beyond the least Hesitancy, this was the Copy the Marquess of *Hertford* brought his Majesty at the time of the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*: But the Violence towards him hastned so fast, he could not transmit it back, and Dr. *Gauden* and Bp. *Duppa*, thought it better to print it as it was, than to defer it till it would be too late to do him the Service they designed by it.

3. Objection the Third; 'The making Bp. *Gauden* the Author 'of this Book, is another Disadvantage to the Credit of the *Memo-* 'randum; for the Stile, the Air, and Thought of Εικων Βασιλικη, is 'as different from the Management of Bp. *Gauden*'s Writings, as 'tis 'possible to imagine: but out of respect to the Bishop's Memory, I 'forbear to insist upon the Comparison.

Answ. This Objection from the Stile is a very thin and feeble one, as I could easily make appear, if I would enter upon the Theme of critical Judging of the Authors of Books, by the Stile in which they are written: and to name no more, I might fetch Assistance from *Elias Du Pin*, a *Sorbon* Doctor, in his excellent new *Bibliothec of Ecclesiastical Writers*; by many Volumes of which, he hath obliged the Learned Part of the World, and raised their Expectation and Desire of the rest. But I will avoid such an unnecessary Digression, it being sufficient to blunt the edg of this Objection, to suggest these two Considerations.

First, It ought to be considered, whether the Writings compar'd are of the same kind? for a Man may differ more from himself, when his Writings are of different kinds, than two Strangers differ in their Stile, whose Design and End of Writing is the same: As the Sermons or Disputings of different Men may be more like one another, if you compare Sermon with Sermon, and Disputation with Disputation, than the Stile of the same Man is like it self, if you compare different kinds of his Writings, as Sermons with Disputations, or either of these with an Oration fitted for a Learned

Assembly. And 'tis an Observation very common, that the Ancient Fathers greatly differ in their Stile, and Air, and Notions, in their popular Harangues and Exhortations, their Polemick Tracts, and their Books of Devotion. So that whatever Dr. *Gauden*'s way of management were in his other Writings, the difference of the Subject between them and this Book, gives a fair account of the different Stile, Air, and Thought, admitting it were as great as the Objection would suppose it.

Secondly, If the Stile and Air of Mens Writings be various, when the kinds of their Writings are different, though they write without Disguise, and only change their Stile, to accommodate it to the Subject or Kind of Writing in which they are engaged: How much more reasonable is it to allow it must be so, when they on purpose do *induere Personam*, personate another Man, and endeavour to the utmost to appear like him for whom they write, and whose Name and Circumstances they tacitly assume? What wonder that *Idem non est Idem*, the same Man appears not like himself, when he feigns himself to be another? as Bp. *Gauden* did, and wrote this Book as in his Majesty's Name, though to be used, allowed, or altered as the King should please.

I have heard it hath been the custom of former Reigns, for the Lord Chancellor, some Privy Councellor, or a Juncto of the Council, to pen or draw up Speeches, to be spoken by the King in Parliament, *or on some other Solemn Occasion, or in Declarations*. Now any Man of Sense will readily grant, that they who pen such Speeches, keep not to their own Stile, or Air, or Thought, which they use when they speak in their own Name or Person; but do the best they can, to adapt them to the Royal Person for whose use and service they are prepared; and thus it most evidently was in this present Case.

He proceeds in this Objection. ' 'Tis likely therefore that King ' *Charles* the Second, and the then Duke, might tell the late Earl ' of *Anglesey* (which his Lordship might possibly forget) that the ' Manuscript was not King *Charles* the First his Hand, but a Tran- ' script of Dr. *Gauden*'s writing; which as it agrees with matter of ' Fact, it gives a fair account of the Alterations in the Copy, which ' the *Memorandum* grants were made by the King.

Answ. This is soon said, but very ill contrived, for 'tis not only highly improbable, *but meerly suppositio impossibilis*. If the King had writ it, why not correct his own Copy? But how should Dr. *Gauden*

den receive it from the King? He was utterly unknown to him, lived at a great distance from him, in the Parliament's Quarters, was under preudice with the Royal Party. I am sorry this Gentleman writes, for once, so like him who feigned the Story of the King's sending it to Mr. *Simmonds*, and he sending for his Neighbour *Gauden*, and lending it him; and all this dispatch'd in a trice, when Mr. *Simmonds* had been so many Years driven, for his Loyalty, from his Neighbourhood.

But the fair and faithful Account, and which indeed agrees with matter of Fact, is; this was the Copy the Marquess of *Hertford* carried to the King, when he went to the Treaty at the Isle of *Wight*, from Dr. *Gauden*, and was humbly submitted to his Majesty's Wisdom to be altered, corrected, approved, or disallowed and disposed of as he should please; and accordingly the King corrected it, to fit it more to his own Sense.

Having finished his Objections against the *Memorandum*, this Gentleman proceeds thus to his Second Strength.

2. Supposing this *Memorandum* had all the pretended Advantages, I shall now produce such Proof against it, which, the Circumstances of the Evidence considered, must be allowed to over-ballance his Lordship's Attestation.

'1. We have the Letters Patents of King *Charles* the Second, 'Dated *Nov.* 29, 1660. in which *R. Royston* of *London* Bookseller, 'has that sole Priviledg given him of Printing all the Works of 'King *Charles* the First, among which Εικων Βασιλικη is mentioned, 'with a particular Character of Commendation.

'2. The same Priviledg for Re-printing the Works of King '*Charles* the First is granted to the above-mentioned *R. Royston*, by 'his present Majesty King *James* the Second; as appears by his 'Majesty's Letters, Dated *February* 22, 168⅝, which Grant refers 'expressly to the First Edition, published by *R. Royston*, in the Year '1662; and in which his Majesty declares, that all the Works of 'his Royal Father were collected and published, which former 'Impression, as I have already observ'd, makes particular mention 'of Εικων Βασιλικη. Now I leave it to any unprejudiced Person to 'judg, whether it is in the least probable, that either of their Majesties should tell the late Earl of *Anglesey*, that this excellent Book 'was written by Dr. *Gauden*, since they both have owned it to be 'their Royal Father's in so publick a manner. So that to use the 'Expression of the Advertisement, If the Declaration of two

'Kings,

'Kings, made with all the Circumſtances of Advantage, may be 'believed before a blind Manuſcript, written by a doubtful Hand, 'and grounded upon a private Relation; then we have ſufficient 'Evidence to ſatisfy the World, how much this Adviſer has en-'deavoured to impoſe upon it.

Anſw. As to the Letters Patent to print this Book, amongſt the Works of King *Charles* the Firſt, on which depends the whole ſtrength of the Argument; I confeſs 'tis a nice and tender Point, which good Manners, rather than want of good Reaſons, reſtrain me from fuller anſwering. I think it may ſuffice to ſay, with Modeſty and Caution, Kings uſe not ſo critically to inſpect all the minute Particulars of their General Royal Grants; but ſign them, as drawn up for the beſt Advantage of the Grantee: and an Under-Secretary or Clerk, who drew the Patents, put in what Mr. *Royſton* reckoned up, and deſired, and never boggled at inſerting Εικων Βασιλικη among King *Charles*'s Work, becauſe it was ſo reputed by moſt, and few knew the Myſtery, and they who did, did all they then could to hide and conceal it. And ſuppoſe either of the Kings had examined every particular, it was at utmoſt but conniving at a vulgar Errour, which it was not their intereſt too nicely to diſcover. And indeed the Argument is ſo palpably weak, that I am perſwaded this Writer, being a Perſon of ſo good Senſe, puts no Streſs upon it; but added it for Number rather than Weight, being rather too hot than too heavy to be dealt with; and for want of better (which 'tis exceeding hard to find, to prove what is not true) brings in ſuch an Argument, as in the Schools we call captious, or *Argumentum odioſum*, which Reſpondents uſe, allowably, to reject, not anſwer; becauſe 'tis deſigned not for real Proof, but to involve the Anſwerer in ſome Odium and Danger, and diſmiſs it unreply'd to, not becauſe they cannot, but becauſe they dare not anſwer it, or with *Beneſeance* ſhew its Weakneſs. And yet to approach one Step cloſer, what underſtanding Man believes all the other particular Pieces, which make up the whole Volume of the Works of K. *Charles* I, to be originally penn'd by himſelf; but knows many of them were prepared by his Secretaries and Council, and then peruſed and approved by him, and ſo became his, by adding the Royal Stamp of his Approbation and Owning of them: And the ſame was deſigned in this Book, as hath been ſhewed before. I ſhall conclude this Diſcourſe of the Letters Patent to Mr. *Royſton* to Print the King's Works, and inferring this to be undoubtedly ſo, becauſe named amongſt them, with

a parallel Case, of a supposed License, to print the Works of as great a King.

Admit Mr. *Royston* had obtain'd a Patent to have the sole Printing the Works of King *David*, and to make all sure that no Man might in the least invade his Priviledg, had got it explicitely inserted into his Patent, all the Works of King *David*, that is to say, the whole Book of *Psalms*, containing in number one hundred and fifty, (which is no hard Supposition) would it have followed hence that he who granted this Patent, had publish'd to all the World, that he knew and believ'd, that *David* was the real Pen-man of them all, tho some of them were certainly written some Ages after *David*'s Death, after the return of the *Babylonish* Captivity; and some by *Heman*, *Asaph*? &c. I grant his Patent might secure his Right to print all the 150, but 'twould be an invalid Argument to prove that *David* wrote all: It needs no Application.

Having thus far vindicated the Truth of the Earl of *Anglesey*'s *Memorandum*; and consequently, the Honour of his Lordship's Memory, from the Charge of Forgery cast upon it, by shewing good reason why I cannot allow the pretended Proof against it, to over-ballance his Lordship's Attestation; which, how sufficiently I have performed, I freely leave to the Judgment of all impartial Readers.

I shall now subjoin the Remark I promis'd to set down, when I had answered the Objections against the *Memorandum*. And it is to shew, by comparing two signal Providences about this Book, how it seems to be the Will of God (for what special Ends is best known to his holy and unsearchable Wisdom, at some of which, I may give my humble Guesses in due place) both to have this Book published and owned, as the Composure of King *Charles* the First, for some time; and then to have the full Truth in due time, come to that light in which the starting those fresh Contests about it is like to set it.

The First, which I call a signal Providence towards its being publish'd, is, the preventing its being seized upon, and stopt in the Press, when the Proof-Sheets, (if not also so much of the Copy as those Sheets contained) were actually in the Hands and Possession of, and carried away by as great an Enemy of the King's (as any Man living was) as Mr. *Simmonds* described him to me. I beg pardon for the length of the Story, which I shall relate from Mr. *Simmonds*, because I think it worth the knowing, and also because 'tis an Evidence I write not in this Affair by Hearsay and Conjecture, (as most do)

but

but as of what I was privy to, and had an hand in all along from first to last.

Upon *Monday*, *January* the 8*th* or 15*th*, (for I have written Memorials by me, which assure me, it could not be so early as the 1*st*, nor so late as the 22*d*,) Mr. *Simmonds* came to my Chamber at *Warwick*-House, where I then was Chaplain, and as a Man affrighted *abruptly* spake to me, 'We are undone, or in great danger to be so, if you do not help us, which I hope you may, being in this Family.' And when I ask'd him what the matter was? he having a little recovered himself, told me the following Story; and when he had done, we consulted what remedy was to be used. His Story was as followeth.

'I was, said he, a while since at a Gentleman's House, a Friend 'of mine in *Hertfordshire*; whilst I was there, there came a Troop 'of Horse of Col. *Rich*'s Regiment, to quarter there-abouts; and 'the Lieutenant whose Name is *Arwaker*, quartered in my Friend's 'House: He and I had many fierce Disputes about the Cause betwixt the King and Parliament, and the Army's usage of his Majesty. By which he was so provok'd, that at last he told me he 'would not suffer it, and said, he would revenge it, were it not that 'he would not violate his Quarters. Whereupon, I thought the 'Place too hot for me to tarry longer in, and therefore hasted back 'to *London*, to my Lodgings in *Carter-Lane*. Not long after, that 'Troop came up to *London*, and the same Lieutenant quartered at 'the *Bell* in the same *Lane*. And yesterday about twelve, as I was 'coming from Church to my Lodgings, we met each other in '*Carter-Lane*: He knew me, but said nothing to me, but turned 'again when he had past me, and dogg'd me to the House I lodg'd 'in. As soon as I was in, and had shut the Door, he discharged 'his Pistol with a brace of Bullets, to mark the Door, and hasted 'away to the *Bell*. As soon as the Master of the House told me 'he was gone, I got away, and he presently returned with six 'Troopers, and search'd the House for me, and breaking open my 'Closet, took away all my Papers, and the printed proof Sheets 'which lay loose upon my Table: but they seeing them blotted, 'and thinking them to be but waste-Paper, and not understanding 'the Title, it being Greek, or not having look'd into them, threw 'them down in the Dirt, which they of the House observing, gathered up. We then, after consulting what to do, concluded 'the best, if not the only way we could take, was to get a Note

'from

' from Col. *Rich* to his Lieutenant, to reſtore all he had ſo taken ' from Mr. *Simmonds*. ' It hapned, even beyond our Hopes and Expectations, that the very ſame day Col. *Rich* came to dine at *Warwick*-Houſe; and between Prayers and Dinner, I deſired Mr. *Charles Rich* (after Earl of *Warwick*) to requeſt a Favour for me of the Colonel, who beckoned him to him croſs the Room, and deſired him to do me a Kindneſs, and referr'd him to me to know what it was: the Colonel drew me aſide, and ask'd what it was I deſired of him; I then ask'd him if there were not one Lieutenant *Arwaker* in his Regiment? he ſaid there was: I then told him he had, upon a pique, broke open a Miniſter's Cloſet, and taken away all his Sermon-Notes, and other Papers; and to diſguiſe the better, jocularly added, He hath undone a poor Parſon, in robbing him of all his Tools; and pray'd him to write a Note to him, to require him to reſtore them.

The Colonel was ſo kind and juſt, upon my fetching Pen, Ink and Paper, to write a Note to him, to re-deliver all; which he did ſo punctually, that Mr. *Simmonds* told me, he miſſed not one Paper, when his Landlord, who carried the Note, brought them; for he durſt not appear himſelf: ſo good and ſpeedy Succeſs we had, even beyond our Hopes, and there was no time to examine the Papers, all being diſpatch'd the next day after they were ſeized. Now whatever others may think, I judg it a Sign that God would have them publiſh'd for ſome eminent Ends, which, as I before hinted, I may touch hereafter; tho I argue not from his Permiſſive, to his approving Providence.

The ſecond ſignal Providence, which ſeems to me to ſignify, that, on the other ſide, God would now have the Truth of this Affair brought to light, is, the Diſcovery of this *Memorandum* in ſo publick and unexpected a manner, which is as generally known as the *Memorandum* it ſelf; to wit, at the Sale of the Earl of *Angleſey*'s Books by publick Auction. 'Tis like no Eye had ſeen it from the time of the Writing of it; and if Mr. *Millington* had not caſually opened the Book, there being ſome time betwixt the putting it up, and the Sale of it, it might in likelihood, have fallen into ſome Hand, who would either have not regarded it, or concealed it; to which may be added, Dr. *Hollingsworth*'s unſeaſonable provoking me, to declare what I now have done, in my own neceſſary, yea, unavoidable Vindication of my ſelf, from his inſulting and moſt falſe Accuſations.

For what remains of the two Sheets, tho I forbear the tranſcribing them, 'tis to avoid a tedious Work, which is needleſs; not to conceal any ſtrength in them, for I ſhall faithfully reply to all that hath any ſeeming weight in it.

In Sir *William Dugdale*'s Account, here quoted, there are four Things aſſerted: to all which, I ſhall anſwer in order, denying what I know to be Miſtakes, and granting what I know or believe to be true or probable; and give the Reaſons of ſuch my Denying or Granting.

1. The firſt and moſt material Paſſage, is that concerning Major *Huntington*; to which I ſay two things; (1.) That this Account of his Teſtimony, is wholly different from what was uſed to be alledged as his; and I have very often heard, but never met with this before; and 'tis highly improbable, that the Lord *Fairfax* would take any thing out of the Cabinet, and ſend up the Cullings to the Parliament, who publiſh'd his Majeſty's Letters, on which the 21 *chap.* of the Book is written; nor had Gen. *Fairfax* that Reſpect or Tenderneſs for the King then, though he was heartily againſt his Murder. (2.) I will in the Faith of a Chriſtian declare what I had from Major *Huntington*'s own Mouth, without diminution or wreſting of it. I had ſo often heard Major *Huntington*'s Teſtimony alledged, that whilſt he had attended his Majeſty, or had the guarding of him, he ſaw the King frequently take theſe Papers out of his Cabinet, and ſometimes read them, ſometimes write more; and that when he ſaw the Book, he declared thoſe Chapters in it were thoſe very Papers he had ſo ſeen.

I having, I ſay, ſo often heard this alledged, and knowing well it was impoſſible to be true, had as earneſt a deſire to ſpeak with him, as I ever had to ſpeak with any Man; but could a good while meet with no Opportunity: but after ſome time, being at *Tunbridge-Wells*, the Major coming thither, with his Son-in-law Sir. *J. Friend*, a fair occaſion offered; for after ſome ſmall Acquaintance, and Converſe upon the Walks, the Major invited me to his Lodgings at *Caverly-Plain*, which I moſt readily accepted, and made him a Viſit one Afternoon: When I came, he received me very kindly, and all the Company, beſides himſelf, being engaged in their Divertiſements, I had as free an opportunity as I could wiſh to diſcourſe of this Affair; after a while I told him I had a Favour to beg of him, in granting which he would greatly oblige me. He anſwered to this purpoſe, he would not deny me any thing in his Power wherein he might ſerve me.

me. I then told him what I heard, as I have above related, and earneſtly intreated him to tell me what he knew, or had ſaid, of that Book. He willingly condeſcended, and began thus. ' 'Tis ' like you have heard how much Trouble this hath put me to; I ' have been examined by one Committee after another, and that ' time after time about it, and many things alledged that I ſhould ' ſay. But I will tell you freely and fully all I know, or ever ſaid ' concerning it, which was this: When that Book was publiſhed, ' and ſo confidently reported to be the King's; then ſurely, or I be- ' lieve, theſe are the Papers I ſee him ſo uſually take out of his Ca- ' binet. But this was but my Conjecture, and I never declared it ' to be otherwiſe: for I aſſure you, I never read one Line or Word ' of the Papers in the King's Hand; I was not ſo rude, and I cannot ' ſay there was one Paſſage in theſe Papers, which is in this printed ' Book: For how ſhould I, never having look'd into them? Now whether I ſhould believe Major *Huntington*, whoſe Account, as in the Sight of God, I faithfully relate, as to the Scope or Subſtance of it, or an Account ſo utterly inconſiſtent with it, and which is in it-ſelf ſo highly improbable, let any conſidering Man judg.

2. I confeſs, as Sir *William* ſaith, it might be ſeen at the Iſle of *Wight*, by Mr. *Herbert* and Mr. *Levet*, for the Marqueſs of *Hertford* carried it thither; but if the Title was *Suſpiria Regalia*, it was one of the King's Corrections. For when Dr. *Ganden* firſt ſhew'd it me, it was as is printed: for when I was bold to ask him how he could ſo impoſe upon the World? he bid me look upon the Title, 'tis the *Portracture*, &c. and no Man draws his own Picture; as I ſaid before, *Sect.* the firſt.

3. I confeſs alſo Mr. *Royſton* might be ſent to, to prepare to print it; and 'tis likely the King might have ſent it as he had corrected and altered it, had not the Violence offered him prevented his purpoſe; or they who us'd his Name to write in, might do the ſame for the Printing it.

4. For its being brought to Mr. *Royſton*, *Decemb.* 23. from Biſhop *Duppa*, agrees well with my Account as to the Perſons; but I rather think it was ſome days before, unleſs he meant it of what he laſt received: for I am infallibly ſure, having a written Memorial to help me, that I brought up what was ſent by me, *Saturday December* 23. and I think delivered it to *Peacock* the ſame Evening.

In the second Authority produced, *viz.* Mr. *William Levet*'s long Letter, though there be many things very well said, with a loyal Zeal, and just Indignation against the barbarous Usage of that excellent Prince, yet there are but two Passages which respect this Book; the latter of which, about Mr. *Royston*, is fully answered already.

The other is, That he could depose the Book was his own, having oftentimes observed his Majesty writing his Royal Resentments of the bold and insolent Behaviour of *his* Souldiers (His rebellious Subjects) when they had him in their Custody; and that he had the happiness oftentimes to read the same in Manuscript, under his Majesty's own Hand, he being pleased to leave the same in the Window in his own Bed-Chamber.

Answ. 1. There is no such Chapter or Title in all Εικων Βασιλικη; and therefore, though I do not deny but Mr. *Levet* might see his Majesty writing such his Resentments, that is no Proof he wrote this Book, in which that Writing is not found.

2. That he read it in the King's Bed-Chamber, in the time of the Treaty at the Isle of *Wight*; this I can easily grant him, for then, and thither, the Marquess of *Hertford* brought it: but that it was under the King's own Hand, I must beg his pardon, to believe he is mistaken, unless it be understood of the Corrections and Alterations, which the *Memorandum* saith were written with the King's own Hand, or his Majesty had transcribed it.

And now, Sir, whether these Authorities, or my Answers to them; and your Remarks upon the *Memorandum*, or my Replies in Vindication of it, be more sufficient to clear the Point in hand, and give the Reader full satisfaction, must be left to his own Judgment; and if he will be pleas'd to consider and weigh both, 'tis all the Courtesy I beg of him, *or Courtship I will use to him.*

SECT. V.

I shall conclude this Labour, not chosen by me, but impos'd upon me by Dr. *H.* for my own Vindication, and to wipe off his false Accusation, of being guilty of a false Story, by a free owning these Reasons, for which I have occasionally, and when I have been desired to do it, declar'd the Substance of what he hath forc'd me now to write, though not in any measure to that degree he hath taken liberty to represent it.

And

And first negatively, not to rob that excellent King of any Honour which was properly due to him, No Man of my Rank, loving him better, or honouring him more, while he lived; or more abhorring his Murder, or bewailing his Death, or (in my Station) giving more open Testimony against it, or sustaining greater loss for so doing: but I need not vindicate my self, in a case wherein I never heard my self accused or suspected.

But positively. The Reason why I have done what I own, was, because, As *we must not speak wickedly for God, nor talk deceitfully for him*, Job 13. 7. neither may we do so for any Man, even not for those who are called Gods. 'Tis a well known, and as well approved a Saying of St. *Augustin*; An officious Lie ought not to be told to save the whole World. And I cannot deny, but there was more than an Appearance of some pious Fraud in this Affair, which I should, by my Silence, have contributed to the maintaining of, when I was required to speak my Knowledg of it.

And though God had many Holy, Righteous, Gracious Ends to serve his Providence by, in the Publication of this Book; as, to render the Murder of so good a King more abhorred; to awaken many to Repentance who had contributed to it, (as I have heard it did) to dispose the Nation to recal, and with Acclamations of Joy to receive the returning Royal Family, and many more. Yet as I find it exprest in this very Book, *Chap.* the last, *pag.* 262. of the First Edition; *God's wise Providence (we know) oft permits many Events, which his revealed Word (the only clear, safe and fixed Rule of good Actions, and good Consciences) in no sort approves.* And I confess, I have many cogent Reasons to perswade me, that God was not well pleased with Dr. *Gauden*, others, or *my self*, for what we contributed to it. And though for the foresaid Ends, and many others, he suffered it to succeed, yet I know not but he may have other Ends now to serve, by suffering this Discovery to be wrung and wrested from me (I had almost said) by some-bodies impertinent Affectation to meddle with what he understands not.

However, it would be hard measure, and such as other Men would be loth to have meted to themselves, not to suffer a Man to reveal that, by concealing which he fears God is displeased, and so to necessitate him to labour under a continued uneasiness, and dissatisfaction of his own Mind: And if for avoiding this, any be offended, I cannot help it. I only calmly intreat them to judge, whether it be more expedient to please them than God? and in cool

Blood

Blood to consider what I have honestly and sincerely written. If it convince not, if it satisfy them not, let them retain their former Sentiments; 'tis at this distance of time (being more than 43 Years) of no great Consequence, whether it were so, or so; I am sure, not of any equal concern to any Body to know it, as it is to me, when put upon it to discover it; for it would involve me in some Guilt to refuse it, in such Circumstances, which I cannot see the danger of to other Men, wholly Strangers to the Affair, how different soever their Opinions be, if they do not maliciously slander them who cannot be of their Minds, till they be convinced by stronger Arguments than those upon which my Perswasion is grounded; which I concisely will here re-capitulate (tho I entreat the Reader to review the two First Sections.)

1. When Dr. *Gauden* shew'd me the Heads of the designed Chapters, and those he had written, I ask'd him how he satisfied himself, so to impose upon the World? His answer was, Look upon the Title, 'tis the Portracture, and none draws his own Picture.

2. When we returned from Bp. *Duppa*'s, he told me the Bishop had propounded two Subjects more to be written on, but desired him to finish what remained; and he would prepare two Chapters on those Subjects.

3. He told me he sent a Copy to the King, in the Isle of *Wight*, by the Marques of *Hertford*, and humbly desired to know his Majesty's Pleasure concerning it.

4. He told me the Duke of *York* knew he wrote it, and own'd it to him to be a seasonable and good Service.

5. His Wife, some others, and my self, believed it as firmly, as we could do any Matter of Fact, and there is no shadow of Appearance why he should put so gross a Cheat upon us all; for 'twas *before 'twas finish'd*, and a good while before 'twas printed, we so believed: and therefore he had not the Temptation to steal the Applause it met with when made publick.

6. He delivered to me with his own Hand what was last sent up, which I carried with me to *London*, *Decemb.* 23, 1648. These are the

the Reaſons, why I believe as I do, the Affirmative part of the Queſtion, that Dr. *Gauden* was the Author; and as I believe, I have alſo ſpoken: And if any Man can produce ſtronger Reaſons for the Negative Part, I do not ſay only I will, but that I muſt believe that contrary Part. For no Man who conſiders, can believe as he liſts, but the weightieſt Arguments will turn the Scale.

And if any will be ſo charitable as to reclaim me from an Errour he ſuppoſes I am in; I even beſeech him to write nothing for the Truth, of which he does not make the like appeals to God which I have done: for if he attempt it by Raillery or Railing, by feeble Conjectures, or Stories inconſiſtent with themſelves, or contradicting one another, he may with more Diſcretion ſpare his Pains: for as no wiſe Man will be influenced further by ſuch Tools, than to pity them who uſe them, or make themſelves merry; ſo I confeſs, I am ſo tired with examining ſuch Ware, *and ſo cloy'd with ſuch Quelk-choſe*, I ſhall *have no Stomach to ſuch Fare*, or think my ſelf concerned to take notice of it.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Reverend Author, Dr. *Anthony Walker*, coming to *London* to publiſh this Treatiſe, it pleaſed God, before it was finiſhed at the Preſs, to take him to himſelf: but for the ſatisfaction of any that are doubtful herein, there are ſeveral credible Perſons that can teſtify the Truth hereof; and the Manuſcript Copy under the Doctor's own Hand, will evidence the ſame.

FINIS.

Dr. Walker's

True, Modeſt, and Faithful

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Author of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ,

Strictly Examined, and Demonſtrated

TO BE

Falſe, Impudent, and Deceitful.

In Two Parts,

The firſt diſproving it to be Dr. *Gauden*'s. The ſecond proving it to be King *CHARLES* the Firſt's.

By *THOMAS LONG*, B. D.
and Prebendary of St. *PETER*'s *EXON.*

His Majeſty's Meditation on his Letters taken and divulged after *Naſeby* Fight: *The taking away of my Credit is but a neceſſary Preparation to the taking away my Life and my Kingdoms; firſt I muſt ſeem neither fit to live, nor worthy to reign: By exquiſite Methods of Cunning and Cruelty I muſt be compelled firſt to follow the Funerals of my Honour, and then be deſtroyed*

Matth. 18. 16. *Take with thee one or two witneſſes more, that in the mouth of two or three every word may be eſtabliſhed.*

IMPRIMATUR,

Sept. 22, 1692. *Guil. Lancaſter, R. P. D Henrico Epiſc. Lon. à Sacris Domeſticis.*

London: Printed and are to be ſold by *R Talor*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1693

Dr. Walkers

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The first discovering it to be Dr. Gauden's. The second proving it to be being CHARLES the first's.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

TO THE

Right Reverend Father in GOD,

JONATHAN Lord Biſhop of *Exon*,

The Reverend the Dean and Chapter of *Exon*,

And my Brethren of the CLERGY.

HAving been choſen by your Suffrage a fourth time to ſerve as one of your Clerks in the Convocation, I have endeavour'd on all Occaſions, as my great Age and mean Abilities permitted, and God's Bleſſing, enabled me, to defend the Church as by Law eſtabliſhed, againſt all its Adverſaries: and being unexpectedly invited by the Worthy Dr. *Charles Goodall* to declare what I had obſerved concerning the Author of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, who was pleaſed to ſend me Dr. *Walker*'s Libel, wherein he affirms, *That Dr.* Gauden *was the Author of that Book.* Among other Remarks which I ſent to Dr. *Goodall*, upon Dr. *W.*'s Book, I ſent him my own Teſtimony in theſe words: *I had the hap to be acquainted with Bp.* Gauden *as long as he was our Dioceſan, and I have often heard him affirm, that he was fully convinced that the* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ *was intirely that King's Work.* How this Teſtimony of mine came to the knowledge of Dr. *Hollingworth* who was then writing againſt Dr. *Walker*, is not material, but I received a Letter from him deſiring that I would communicate my Teſtimony to him, for which I referred him to Dr. *Goodall*, from whom I ſuppoſe he received a Copy of my Teſtimony. Shortly after this, there came forth a third Letter of *Ludlow*'s, and in *p.* 16. of a Preface to that Book, I found my Teſtimony repeated, and my Perſon reflected on, which I accounted

a great Honour, as being defamed by a Regicide in Defence of our Royal Martyr, this was one Motive to engage me for the farther Confirmation of my Teſtimony, which how well I have performed, I ſubmit to your Judgments. This Teſtimony was ſo acceptable to both the Doctors, that they ſolicited me for my farther Aſſiſtance in this Buſineſs; and Dr. *Goodal* who moſtly encouraged me by ſeveral Teſtimonies which were very material, preſt on me the Proſecution of this Subject, becauſe Dr. *Walker*'s Pamphlet by his frequent and ſolemn Appeals to God had altered the Opinions of many of our own Church, and Multitudes of Diſſenters; and that as well Dr. *Walker*'s as *Ludlow*'s Libels did equally tend to Subverſion of Monarchy and Epiſcopacy, as now by Law eſtabliſhed; theſe things prevailed with me to Review Dr. *Walker*'s true Account, as he calls it, and finding it to be falſe, ſcandalous, inconſiſtent, and contradictory to itſelf, and to have no Foundation beſides the bare Aſſertion of a Vain Perſon, I reſolved to joyn Iſſue with him on his own Propoſal, in the laſt Page of his Libel, *That if any Man can produce ſtronger Reaſons for the negative part*, viz *that Dr.* Gauden *was not the Author, than he hath for the affirmative*, he ſays, *he not only will, but muſt believe that contrary part.* The Caſe therefore is devolved on the Determination of the Reader, whom I only deſire to conſider the Arguments and Authorities which I have produced for ſtopping of that falſe and malicious Rumor, which hath been a long time muttered in every Corner, but now is proclaimed on the Houſe-top, and like Peſtilential Diſeaſes on crazy Bodies, hath ſeized Men of weak Heads and corrupt Hearts; which being warmly applied to the infected Party, who with *Jannes* and *Jambres* withſtand *Moſes*, and reſiſt the Truth, ſhall proceed no farther, for their Folly ſhall be manifeſt to all Men, by

My moſt Honour'd Lord, Fathers, and Brethren,

Your moſt Devoted SERVANT,

THO. LONG.

THE PREFACE.

IT *is an unaccountable Piece of Malice that in twelve Years after the Barbarous Murder of* CHARLES the First, *wherein his bloudy Enemies wanted neither Power nor Diligence to destroy that Monument which he had erected in his Life-time, stood still firm and inviolable; and after more than thirty Years, wherein the Church and Royal Family were restored to a quiet Enjoyment of their Ancient Rights and Splendor, and both Church and State acknowledged their Preservation due to the Unconquerable Fortitude and Patience of the* Royal Martyr; *in witness whereof they ordained, (as bound in Duty and Gratitude) that the Memorial of that* Just Man *might be blessed, by recording Him in their* Rubrick *as their* Royal Martyr, *and appointed a Day of Humiliation and Prayer for the Aversion of those Judgements which the Guilt of shedding his Innocent Bloud, from which we are not cleansed to this Day; that there should be found such Monsters of Men as should endeavour to Murder Him a second time, and charge Him again in the sight of the Nation, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and (what His most Unrighteous Judges durst not charge Him with, as) a Papist. All which Calumnies have been lately spread through the Nation, in several Libels, under the name of that Impious Regicide* Ludlow, *who because Judgment was not speedily executed on him, hath set his heart upon doing more Mischief; nor doth that Son of* Belial *want the Assistance and Applause of too many, who suck up his venemous Poyson, and become professed Enemies to Episcopacy in the Church, and Monarchy in the State; and because their Predecessors prevailed so far against the most Pious and Innocent of Kings, and the best of the Reformed Churches, as to kill and take possession of their Inheritances; having now, as* Milton *says, lost their Paradise, they attempt to regain it, by the same Methods as were used in* 1640: *The Government being now established in the Hands of the most Heroick and Religious King and Queen in all Christendom, and under them the Church consisting of such a Learned and Pious*

Clergy, as maintain their Renown of being Stupor Mundi. *He ſticks not to juſtifie them whoſe Deeds teſtifie that they are the Off-ſpring of thoſe who deſtroyed the Lord's Anointed, and killed his Prophets; and commendeth Regicide, Sacriledge, and Murthering of Vicegerents, and thoſe that God had ſent as his Ambaſſadors among them, and perſwades them, that they did God ſervice in thoſe Barbarities. What Prince, or what Church can be ſafe, if they ſhould (which God forbid) fall under the Power of Men of ſuch Principles, who ſought to deſtroy Monarchy, with the beſt of Monarchs, and with Him the beſt Reformed Church.*

The Reign of Charles *the Firſt for ſeventeen Years together, was ſuch as the Prophet deſcribes, Pſal.*144. When our ſons grew up as young plants, and our daughters were as the poliſhed corners of the temple; when there was no leading into captivity, no breaking or invaſion of the land, no decay of our ſtores, our ſheep or oxen. *And yet what Murmuring and Complaining was there in all our Streets? There was no Bloud ſhed in all that time, until this Generation of Men grew intollerable by affronting, and publiſhing Factious and Seditious Libels againſt both the King and Church; and then a few Marks of ſuch as openly begun our Diviſions, were ſet on ſome of them, that others might avoid their pernicious Ways, ſuch as* Prin, Burton, *and* Baſtwick, *the firſt of which confeſt, That if his Head had been cut off when his Ears were cropt, he had deſerved it. The Arch-biſhop's Speech hath truly ſet forth their Attempts and Deeds. And as for the Condition of the Church, the Care of the Governours was, that we might worſhip God in Holineſs and Beauty too, ſo that the King's Daughter might not only be glorious within, but her Garments might be of Needle-work.*

Such by the Bleſſing of God is our preſent Condition; but that we may ceaſe to wonder at theſe Men, Dr. Walker, *that was a Member of our Church, one that admired the Parts and Piety of the* Holy Martyr, *after forty three Years, ſhould ſeek to deface the Portraicture of that* Glorious King, *and deprive the People of that precious Depoſitum, than which we have not a more ſacred Relick of any of the Martyrs and Fathers, ſince the Apoſtles days, is matter of Wonder and Aſtoniſhment: He tells us, that the* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ *is an Impoſtor, framed by Dr.* Gauden, *and impoſed on the Nation by him, without the Knowledge and Conſent of the King; and ſo deprives Him of the beſt Evidence of his Wiſdom and Innocence, and lays him open to all the odious Reproaches contained in the Libels of the Regicide* Ludlow, *and his Fellows, for thoſe being the falſe Reports of profeſt Enemies, were confuted by the King in his Life-time, in anſwer to their Undutiful Remonſtrances, which may be ſeen in the* Reli-

Reliquiæ Carolinæ, *and particularly in the* Regal Apology : *but the Confident Assertions of an avowed Friend, upon a Motive of a troubled Conscience, a Doctor of Divinity, a Member of that Church that Yearly Celebrates His Memory as their* Martyr, *lays a Claim to, and commands the Belief of the vulgar People; and if the Prejudice be not speedily removed, may be of dangerous Consequence, for who would willingly be a Subject to such a* Prince *as shall publickly, and without any Contradiction, pass for a Traytor, a Tyrant, and Murtherer, or be a Member of that Church which shall Canonize such a* Prince, *and Celebrate His Memory in a Yearly Solemnity as their* Royal Martyr? *And if* Charles *the First be still represented as such, and His Murther openly justified, what Monarch can be secure? especially when such as Dr.* W. *shall assure the World, That the best Defence that ever was, or could be made in His behalf, the* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, *is a Sham and Imposture, and at most a Pious Fraud; and this done by one that professeth a great Love and Veneration for the King, by one that reveals it as a Secret, the concealing whereof had been a great Trouble to his Conscience, and one that makes solemn Appeals to God the Searcher of Hearts, and Avenger of Wrong, that what he says is Matter of Fact, seen with his own eyes:* Hoc ithacus velit & magno merchantur atridæ; *This is such a Spark of Wild-fire as will put all the combustible Provision which the Commonwealth's Men have heap'd together into a Flame; an Engine like the* Trojan *Horse, out of which Armies of Antimonarchical Men, not yet discover'd, may in a short time appear, for the subverting of our yet flourishing Monarchy: It is therefore a necessary Duty for all that love the present Establishment, to extinguish these Sparks, which being wrapt up in a multitude of Libels, are scattered thro' the Nation, and spread like Fire among Thorns. The Reverend Dr.* Hollingworth *hath with great Courage opposed this growing Mischief, and hath got many Hands for his Assistance; but the inflamed Party rage the more, and as Water cast on the Smith's Forge, where the Bellows are still blowing, it increaseth and prolongs the Heat, so that there needs the addition of more Help, as of many Waters to extinguish such Fires; every Man is concerned when the Fire is got into his Neighbour's House; among others I willingly offered my helping Hand, and resolve, by God's assistance, not to recede for any Opposition that I have or shall meet with: the Province which I have undertaken, is to quench that Fire-brand which Dr.* Walker *hath thrown upon the Portraicture of King* Charles *the First, the most magnificent Monument that any Prince hath left behind him, the fall whereof would shake Monarchy itself; his Attempt is furious, but his main Strength is like the* French *Valour, which is spent in a single Charge, and that be-*

ing already sustained, as I doubt not of a compleat Victory over this daring Enemy, and utterly extinguishing his Fire-brand: So I hope my Success may encourage those States-men or Souldiers, whose more peculiar Province it is to dissipate those Libels of Ludlow *and his Accomplices, who by their Subterranean Fires and* Ignes Fatui *seek to mislead the Ignorant and Credulous Mobile into their destructive Snares. There are still among us combustible Materials, and such credulous or malicious Fools, who as* Solomon *says, make it their sport to cast abroad such Fire-brands, Arrows, and Death; and the Flame is broken out among the* Cameronians *in our Neighbour-Kingdom; and too many in this Nation warm themselves by the Sparks which they have kindled: And St.* James *adviseth us to behold,* (i. e.) *to consider how great a matter a little Fire kindleth; of which the Experience we have had in that single Spark of the* Scottish *Covenant since the Year* 1643, *of which Dr.* Gauden *observes, p.* 182. *of his* Anti-Baal, That it was so far like that from Mount *Sina*, with Fire and Smoak, Earthquakes and Burning, and loud Noise of Trumpets, attended with infinite Mischief, Fury, Misery, and Confusion on King and Parliament, Priest and People.

And what less is designed by that proscribed Regicide Ludlow, *who with an unheard of Insolence defied the Laws and Justice of the whole Nation, directing his Trayterous Libel to the hands of Sir* Edward Seymour, *a chief Counsellour of Estate, and that Junto of Republicans that Abet his Design in many such rebellious Libels as are scattered through the Nation, to set it into a Flame. And they have not the Understanding of Children, that having been often burnt, do not dread the Smoak of such Fires: 'Tis not for his sake alone that such Libels are divulged, but to shew their Antipathy to Monarchy itself, even in the Persons of such as God by a Series of Miracles hath raised to make us a happy People. And certainly there is some Fire under that Smoak where the King's Supremacy over Ecclesiastical Assemblies, is exploded, and Episcopal Ordination is accounted a Transgression. And where King* Charles *the First is dealt with in Effigy, as he was in Person, as a Tyrant, Traytor, and Murtherer, of whom the World was not worthy.*

Dr.

Dr. *WALKER's*

True, Modeſt, and Faithful

ACCOUNT

OF THE

AUTHOR of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ,

Strictly Examined, and Demonſtrated

TO BE

Falſe, Impudent, and Deceitful.

The Firſt PART.

WHether the King's Portraicture were drawn by *his own* or *another Hand*, as it is no Diminution of his known Virtues, whereof thoſe Meditations are but a Reflection, that cannot expreſs the Perfection of his Devout Soul and Innocent Life; ſo neither can it be any Extenuation of their Guilt who ſo barbarouſly murther'd his Perſon, and after ſo long a time do now diſturb his Aſhes to rob him of this precious Jewel. To what end this Impotent Piece of Malice is now attempted, I cannot Divine, unleſs it be by the juſt Judgment of God to perpetuate their Infa-

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my who glory in that which all the World besides themselves know to be their abominable Sin and Shame.

Had there been any Probability that the Regicides could have found any other Author of those Incomparable Meditations, they would more industriously have pursued that Method; but finding by the Examination of *Royston* the Printer, before several Committees, that this course would destroy their Design, they resolve to deal with his Book as they had done with his Person, to Defame it by scandalous Reflections, loud Calumnies, and false Glosses and Misinterpretations: And they found a fit Instrument to attempt their Design, a Person that was a Compendium of all the Villanies and Impieties of the Age, who had been a profest Enemy to Monarchy, a Pleader for Divorces on Trivial Occasions, and against Tithes and the Clergy, which he hath left in several printed Tracts, as his *Portraicture*: this is that Infamous *Milton* whom the Regicides hired by the Price of three hundred Pounds to Deface that Royal Monument; but all in vain, for by his over-doing he hath quite undone the Design, for first he takes it *pro confesso*, that it is the King's Book, and says, That *the King left it behind him as the best Advocate and Interpreter of his own Actions*, p. 3. of his Preface. And says, *That because the King complained at the Bar, that his Reasons could not be heard, neither he nor his Friends should have cause to find fault, being met and debated with in that open Court of his own erecting.* But his Proceedings against this Book, were like those of his Fellow-Regicides against his Person: For, *p.* 2. of his Preface, *He accuseth the Book as having nothing of Solidity in it, being stuft with naught else but the common Grounds of Tyranny and Popery.* And, *p.* 6. *That the King used more running Fetches to Undermine our Liberties, and put Tyranny into an Art, than any* British *King before him.* Which are such palpable Falsities as the Father of Lies would not own; and of which he gives the Reader a plain Confutation, *p.*8. in these words, That *they who before hated him for his high Misgovernment*, (as he miscals it) *nay, fought against him with display'd Banners in the Field, now* (after the printing of his Book) *applaud and extol him as the Wisest and most Religious Prince that lived.* And the Reformer turn'd Regicide, they saw the Truth of the King's Declarations made manifest, and all their Slanders of the King confuted: And *Milton*'s great Objection against him for ever silenced, which was, *That the Testi-*

Mr. Levet *testifies, That* Royston *told him, that he was imprisoned because he would not declare, that the King was not the Author of that Book.* Dr. Holling. *p.* 9.

Teſtimony of one Man in his own Cauſe affirming, cannot be of any moment, to bring in doubt the Authority of a Parliament, denying the Allegation. Which is as if the Teſtimony of thoſe that had rob'd and ſlain an innocent Man in the face of the Sun, deſerved more Credit than his dying Teſtimony againſt his Murtherers, and the Matter of Fact atteſted by more than a thouſand Witneſſes. They ſaw the Mask taken off, and the Rebel appear where the Reformer was repreſented.

As for that Impudent Calumny, That the KING's BOOK is ſtuft with Grounds of POPERY, 'tis what his Maſters durſt not accuſe Him of; and from which the whole Courſe of his Life, ſo well known to the Nation, would acquit him; particularly ſome of thoſe private Letters of his which the Parliament publiſht, wherein he declared to the Queen, *That he differed from her in nothing but her Religion.* His Diſpute with the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, yet in print, though by a partial Hand, that relates it to the King's Diſadvantage; his conſtant Devotion at our Prayers and Sacrament; his Solemn Proteſtations at *York* in the head of his Army, at *Oxford* when he ſealed the Truth of his Profeſſion by receiving the Sacrament at the hands of the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, as he did alſo in the Cathedral of *Exeter*, after he had defeated *Eſſex*'s Army in *Cornwal*: And which is the beſt Confirmation, his declaring at the laſt inſtant of his Life, that he died a Chriſtian according to the Profeſſion of the Church of *England*, as it was left him from his Father; the farther Proof of this, would be but as ſome Apologies, the calling that in queſtion which was not doubted of before, and raiſing a Suſpicion of it: Therefore I leave this *παρεργον*, and purſue that Sacrilegious *Milton*, who in *p.* 4. relating how ſome Men by Polity have accompliſhed after Death, that Revenge upon their Enemies, which in Life they were not able. He to this Book applies the Example of *Cæſar*, whoſe laſt Will and Teſtament being read to the People, and what bounteous Legacies he had bequeathed them, it wrought more to the avenging of his Death, than all the Art he could ever uſe to win their Favour in his Life-time. Which the Royal Martyr foretold in that moſt Chriſtian Sentence wherewith he cloſed his Book, *Vota dabunt quæ bella negarunt.* The true meaning whereof his Majeſty gives in the Chapter concerning the *Uxbridge-Treaty*, viz. *What we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.* Out of which Flower that venemous Spider would extract Poiſon.

But

But the Book ſhines throughout with ſuch Beams of Light as evidently diſplay the Innocency and Piety of that incomparable Prince, and the Impiety and Perfidy of his Enemies; and hence it is that they ſo hate it. But what Temptation hath prevailed with ſome Perſons in this Age, to revive their Calumnies againſt the Royal Martyr, and to juſtifie his Murther; it is hard to gueſs, unleſs it be, that there is a Commonwealth at the bottom, for whoever will defend a Rebellion againſt ſo good a Prince, will not ſtick to oppoſe the beſt that ſhall ſucceed him, their Principles being Antimonarchical: But this is not my preſent buſineſs; the Queſtion which I am to diſcuſs is, *Whether King* Charles *the First, or Biſhop* Gauden *were the Author of the* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ? Dr. *Walker* in a late Book hath peremptorily affirmed, That it was compoſed by Biſhop *Gauden*, and ſent to the Preſs by him.

That it was penned by the King, and printed by his Order, I ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate, as far as a Matter of Fact done ſo long ſince will admit: And that the Reader may not think me a Pragmatical Perſon, as medling with a Buſineſs wherein I am not concerned, and which hath been undertaken by a more Eminent Perſon, I ſhall briefly acquaint him with the Occaſion of my being ingaged in this Diſpute:

I were importuned by two Eminent Doctors to declare what I knew concerning the Book in queſtion, and accordingly I ſubſcribed my Name to that Teſtimony printed in Dr. *Hollingworth*'s Anſwer to a Libel that goes under the Name of *Ludlow*, in theſe words, *I had the hap to be acquainted with Biſhop* Gauden *as long as he was our Dioceſan, and I have heard him often affirm, That he was fully convinced, that the* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ *was intirely that King's Work.*

Tho. Long.

In anſwer to Dr. *Hollingworth*'s Book there comes forth another Libel under the ſame Name of *Ludlow*, to which there is a Preface prefixed ſubſcribed by one *Joſeph Wilſon* of *Yarmouth*; though I am ſo credibly informed, that I believe there is no ſuch Perſon, and that neither *Ludlow* nor *Wilſon* wrote any of thoſe Books, but a Juncto of Republicans; whoever the Authors be, it appears that they are deeply immerged in the Guilt of Regicide, which they endeavour to juſtifie, and in the very words of *Milton*, not only Defame the Book, affirming, *That it begins with Falſhood, and ends with Fraud*; but alſo Blaſpheme his Perſon in the ſame words of that

that profligate Perſon, *p.* 4. of his *Iconoclaſtes*, viz. *That the King never loved, never fulfilled, never promoted the true Ends of Parliament.* If there were ſuch a thing as a Metempſychoſis, I ſhould think that the Souls of *Bradſhaw*, *Milton*, and other Regicides had a Tranſmigration into the Souls of this Junćto of Republicans.

Wherefore as I account it my bounden Duty to Vindicate the Royal Martyr to the beſt of my Knowledge, and the utmoſt of my Power; ſo I ſhall ſtill eſteem it as a Point of Honour rather than of Reproach, to be evil ſpoken of by ſuch a Junćto of Men, as were ſo far from ſparing the Reputation of the Royal Martyr, that in a moſt barbarous manner they deprived him of his Life; nor is it more evident, that he or they who have moſt impudently publiſhed thoſe Libels againſt that beſt of Kings, do ſtrike at Monarchy in general, as well as at that moſt Innocent and yet moſt Defamed Monarch, and lay a Foundation for a Commonwealth; for it is moſt rational to conclude, that they who ſought, and where they could not find a juſt Cauſe for their Rebellion, made their own Groundleſs Fears and Jealouſies an Occaſion for the moſt Unnatural and Bloudy Civil War that ſo Rent three Flouriſhing Kingdoms, will ever acquieſce or reſt ſatisfied with the Adminiſtration of the Government by any that ſhall ſucceed to the Crown, though they ſhall excel that Royal Martyr in Wiſdom, Clemency, Temperance, and other Vertues, as much as he excelled any of his Cotemporary Monarchs: I ſay, it is not more evident that they will be Seditious in the State, than that they will be as Troubleſome and Factious in the Church, whoſe Principles lead them againſt the Doctrine and Diſcipline by Law eſtabliſhed, and for that cauſe hate the Perſons of the Legiſlators; all which hath been practiſed by their Predeceſſors, and is deſigned by the preſent Managers of the late Libels, who if the preſent Governours in Church and State were as much in their Power, as in the Year 48, and had but one Neck, they would not ſtick to deſtroy all at one Blow, as their Predeceſſors thought they had done.

Now as in the Preface before mentioned, there is no Author to be found, ſo neither is their any Proof in the whole Libel produced, to Invalidate the Teſtimonies ſo clearly alledged by Dr. *Hollingworth*, after a moſt exact Enquiry concerning the Author of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, which will be demonſtrated hereafter, it is my buſineſs now only to confirm my own, in order to which, I ſhall not urge to prove Biſhop *Gauden*'s Kindneſs to me, (though I may

truly) as Dr. *Walker* doth the Parliament's Favour to Biſhop *Gauden*, by preſenting him with a Piece of Plate; it being well known that he collated on me one of the firſt Prebends of his Church, in his firſt Year; and I ſhoud be very injurious to his Memory, to atteſt any Untruth concerning him; the Occaſion on which I ground my Evidence (I well remember) was this: On the 30th of *January*, in the Biſhop's firſt Year, the Biſhop preached in the Cathedral in the Forenoon, on *Jonah* 1. 14. *We beſeech thee, O Lord, we beſeech thee, let us not periſh for this man's life; and lay not on us innocent blood, for thou Lord haſt done as it pleaſed thee.*

By the Biſhop's order I preached in the Afternoon, my Text was that Evangelical Promiſe, *Iſa.* 49. 23. *Kings ſhall be thy nurſing-fathers, and their Queens thy nurſing-mothers.* Whereon as occaſion offered, I aggravated that deteſtable Parricide perpetrated on the Perſon of the Royal Martyr; and among other Arguments I urged the Piety and Clemency of that moſt excellent Prince, reading out of his Book ſeveral Paragraphs to that purpoſe: and one other from a Speech to the Commiſſioners at *Newport*, againſt ſome that thought him Revengeful, *That he was ſo far from ſeeking Revenge, that if a Straw lay in their way to hurt them, he would ſtoop and take it up to prevent it.* (Adding,) *God forgive them, for I do.* The Duties of the Faſt being over, I was invited to ſup with the Biſhop, and ſtanding with him by the Fire-ſide, he gave me Thanks for my Sermon, and then declared to me what I have atteſted.

And now that I may not appear to be a ſingle Witneſs in this Evidence, I ſubjoyn theſe following Atteſtations, firſt that quoted by Dr. *Holling.* p. 10. *That Mrs* Gauden *told a Lady of good Quality, That ſhe had a great concern for the eternal State of her Husband, becauſe he pretended he was the Author of that Book, when to her knowledge he never wrote it.* This Dr. *Hollingworth* had from a Miniſter in *London.* To this I ſhall ſubjoyn the agreeing Teſtimony of Mr. *Gifford*, who lived with Dr. *Gauden*, and as Dr. *Walker* intimates, did Tranſcribe the Book; which Teſtimony I had from the mouth of the Reverend Dr. *Edw. Lake*, Archdeacon of *Exeter*, being then on his Viſitation, about *Eaſter* laſt, who declared, in the preſence of another judicious Friend, *That he well knew Mr.* Gifford, *and that diſcourſing with him occaſionally concerning the King's Book, Mr.* Gifford *thought it next to the Holy Scripture, to be one of the moſt Divine Books that had been written: And that Mr.* Gifford *preaching on the*

30th

30*th of* January, *and urging to Charity, he quoted this Paſſage out of that Book, as being the King's Book,* 'It is all that is now left me, a 'Power to Forgive thoſe that deprived me of all; and I thank God 'I have a Heart to do it. This Teſtimony being given by Mr. *Gifford* (to an intimate Friend) who was much better acquainted with the Tranſactions concerning the Author and Publiſhers of that Book, and for ought I ever heard of, a clearer Reputation than Dr. *Walker,* who owned that he never read the Book in Manuſcript, but intimates, that Mr. *Gifford* tranſcribed it, who had he been conſcious that the Copy which he tranſcribed had been of Dr. *Gauden*'s compiling; yea, I may ſay, had he not known (as he had the beſt opportunity to inform himſelf,) that it was the King's, he would never have quoted it as his, on ſo ſolemn an Occaſion: So that I need nor deſire any other Evidence to confirm my Teſtimony, but leave it to the indifferent Reader to judge, whether the ſingle Report of Dr. *Walker,* or the joynt and agreeing Teſtimony of Mr. *Gifford,* and Mr. *Long,* and Mrs. *Gauden,* are moſt credible. And if any Reader be yet doubtful, I intreat 'em for his full Conviction, to ſuſpend his Cenſure till he hath conſidered what followeth.

As for the impertinent and falſe Reflections made on the Author of the *Vox Cleri,* which he calls a Virulent Book, let it ſpeak for itſelf; and he that hath an ear to hear, muſt needs apprehend, that he wrote only in behalf of the Church, as by Law eſtabliſhed, to which he had given his hearty Aſſent and Conſent; to which the Churches Enemies being of another mind, account all that ſhall be written on its behalf to be *Venemous Invectives,* and to deſerve alike Remark, as he makes on the Royal Martyr. That he who acted ſo tragically over us ſhould leave the World with ſuch a ridiculous Exit; for which wretched Invention the Libeller is beholding to that long ſince exploded, and by a miraculous Providence confuted Motto of *Bradſhaw* and his Fellow-Regicides, *viz. Exit Tirannus Regum Ultimus.*

I ſhall not follow Dr. *Walker* in his Excurſions, but keep cloſe to his Arguments for the Proof of his Aſſertion, which he delivers in theſe words: P. 3. *I know, and believe the Book whoſe Author is enquired after, was written by* Dr. Gauden *(except two Chapters writ by Bp.* Duppa,) *ſo far as the ſubjoyned means may produce ſuch Knowledge, and the Reaſons may induce ſuch Belief.* In *p.* 2. *He ſolemnly appeals to the Searcher of Hearts, Avenger of Falſhood, and Revealer of Secrets, that he*

wrote nothing of the Truth of which he was not throughly perſwaded by as full Evidence as he judged ſuch a Matter of Fact needed, and at ſuch diſtance of Time was capable of. Yet after this ſolemn Appeal, and Declaration of his Knowledge and Belief, in the ſame Page he begs leave to retain his Opinion, *Till Means of Knowledge, Reaſons of Belief, Arguments for thinking otherwiſe be produced*; and then promiſeth to yield. So that notwithſtanding his Knowledge and Belief, and his being throughly perſwaded by full Evidence, he is ſtill in a Suſpence, and doubts that ſuch Arguments may be produced as may alter his Opinion. And in *p.* 3. he talks of ſuch probable Arguments as may confirm himſelf, and ſatisfie others; among which Arguments, that which he mentioneth *p.* 8. he judgeth to carry the faireſt and higheſt Probability to confirm what he had before declared, *viz. The reaſonable Belief that he,* (i. e.) *Dr.* Gauden *was the Compoſer of it.* The Argument is *p.* 8. *n.* 5. in theſe words: *I am as ſure as I can be of any thing, that Dr.* Gauden *made the Extract out of this Book called, (I think)* Apophthegmata Carolina; *the thing is moſt notorious that there was ſuch a Book came out in a very ſhort time after, printed by Mr.* Dugard. *Now why ſhould Dr.* Gauden *concern himſelf ſo much more than any other of the King's Friends, and diſpatch it with ſuch Expedition, had he had no more concern in it than other Men?*

Anſ. Let the Reader judge how probable the reſt of his Arguments are, when in his own Judgment this is the faireſt and higheſt Probability to confirm what he hath declared; for what force is there in the Argument, becauſe Dr. *Gauden* collected the *Apophthegmata Carolina*, therefore he made the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, as if the Abbreviating of any Book were an Argument that the Abbreviator were the Author of it. Indeed the very Argument is a ſcandalous Reflection on his Friend's Memory, as if it had not been enough to ſham the World with a Book in the King's Name, but he muſt Extract his own Apothegms, or Wiſe Sayings out of it, and charge his Prince with what he never ſaid, nor thought of: It had been a pretty way of trumpetting his own Praiſe, and ſetting his own Military, Political, and Theological Abilities on a Level with thoſe of the wiſeſt Prince in *Chriſtendom.* I think Antiquity gives us no Inſtance of any Man publiſhing his own Apothegms; however Dr. *W.*'s unfortunate in this, ſince the Collector and Publiſher of the *Apophthegmata Carolina* was not Dr. *Gauden*, but Dr. *Hooker*, a Perſon ſtill living in *White-Lion-Court*, againſt *Virginia-ſtreet*, in *Wapping.* It would have concluded more rationally, if Dr. *Gauden* had

had defended it againſt *Milton* and ſome others that wrote againſt it, as Dr. *Earle* did; yet none will infer, that Dr. *Earle* was the Author, though he took the Pains alſo to Tranſlate it into *Latine:* And it's a more Logical Inference to ſay, Dr. *Gauden* publiſhed an Extract of weighty Sentences out of that Book, therefore he was not the Author of it. Dr. *Earle*'s Teſtimony given by Mr. *Beck*, *p.* 28. of Dr. *Holling.* is very convincing, *That he being ſent by his Lord Vicount* Hereford *to Dr.* Earle, *then at the* Hague, *to ask what he knew of the King's being Author of that Book, the Doctor told him,* 'As ſure as he knew himſelf to be the Tranſlator of that Book in-'to *Latine*, ſo certain he was King *Charles* was the Author of the O-'riginal in *Engliſh. And he adds,* 'For my part I am apt to believe 'no Perſon was able to frame that Book, but a Suffering King, and 'no Suffering King, but King *Charles* the Martyr.

Dr. *Walker* in *p.* 4. declares what he knew of this Book, and by what means: *Dr.* Gauden (ſaith he) *ſometime before the whole was finiſhed, was pleaſed to acquaint me with his Deſign, and ſhewed me the Heads of divers Chapters, and ſome of the Diſcourſes written of them; and after ſome time ſpent in the Peruſal, he vouchſaft to ask my Opinion concerning it; and after ſome Conſideration, I told him, I ſuppoſed it would be much for the King's Reputation, Honour, and Safety,* &c.

Anſ. I have another Teſtimony of Dr. *Walker*'s (which the Reader ſhall have at large,) which is dated *March* 23d, 1690, where he declares, That he is uncertain whether he ever read this Book in Manuſcript, or only ſaw it with its Title of the Chapters. Now as the growth of a Teſtimony by material Additions and Alterations is accounted a Prejudice againſt it, ſo much more when ſomething is affirmed in the later which was denied in the former Teſtimony; for in *p.* 4. he ſays, He perfectly remembreth, that in the ſecond Chapter of the Earl of *Strafford*, where it is ſaid, *He only hath been leaſt vext by them who counſelled me not to conſent againſt the Vote of my own Conſcience*; Dr. *Gauden* told him, that Dr. *Juxon* was meant by that Paſſage. Which was common Diſcourſe, ſhortly after the Earl's Death, though Dr. *Walker* makes it a Secret: There were printed ſome Reflections ſhortly after the Book was publiſhed, and in the Frontiſpiece Bp. *Juxton* deſcribed behind a Curtain dictating the Book.

Dr. *Walker*'s Teſtimony concerning the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, *March* 23, 1690, was as followeth:

'Bp. *Gauden* wrote that whole Book, two Chapters only excep-

'ted,

'ted, the one about Liturgies, the other of Refuſing the King the 'Attendance of his Chaplains; which two Chapters were written 'by Bp. *Duppa*: Dr. *Walker* well remembring that Bp. *Gauden* told 'him, That Bp. *Duppa* upon the Peruſal of this Book, told Bp. '*Gauden*, that the two forementioned Heads were fit to be writ up-'on, and therefore deſired him to draw up two Chapters on the 'ſame; but after farther Conſideration, he told him, That he 'would write thoſe two Chapters himſelf. Dr. *Walker* farther ob-'ſerved, That conſidering Dr. *Gauden*'s Circumſtances, it was very 'obvious why Dr. *Gauden* ſhould not think of writing on thoſe 'Heads, becauſe the Doctor diſuſed the Liturgy, and had never 'been one of the King's Chaplains; and ſo not ſo ſenſible of wri-'ting on thoſe two Chapters.

'The bigger part of the Copy of this Book was delivered by Bp. '*Gauden* to Mr. *Simmons*, as Dr. *Walker* conjectures.

'One *Peacock*, Bp. *Gauden*'s Steward's Brother, received part of 'thoſe Papers from Dr. *Walker*, particularly the Picture ſealed up: 'theſe were put up in a Trunk between the Lady *Warwick*'s Points. '*Peacock* delivered theſe Papers to another Perſon unknown to Dr. '*Walker*.

'One Lieutenant *Arraker* ſeized Mr. *Simmons*'s Papers in *Carter-'lane*, on a *Sunday*, among which the Proof-ſheets of this Book 'were, which were reſtored to Mr. *Simmonds* on *Munday*, by or-'der of Col. *Rich*, upon the Interceſſion of Dr. *W.* Some of the 'Proof-ſheets, having the *Greek* Title on the outward Leaf, were 'ſcattered in *Carter-lane*, and gathered up by *Simmonds*'s Son, or 'ſome of the Family, as ſoon as the Troopers were gone.

'Bp. *Gauden* told Dr. *Walker*, that he delivered a Copy of this 'Book to the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, when he went to the Treaty 'at the *Iſle of Wight*, and deſired him to deliver it to the King, if 'he could find an Opportunity, and know his Majeſty's Pleaſure, 'whether he would give leave that it might be publiſhed; but 'whether the King did ever receive the Papers, the Biſhop could 'not tell, he received no account of the ſame, as he told Dr. *Wal-'ker* a little before his Death.

'Dr. *Walker* enquired of the Biſhop, how he could ſatisfie him-'ſelf in impoſing this Book on the World? The Biſhop replyed, '*Conſider the Title, being the King's Portraicture, and no Man uſeth to 'draw his own Picture.*

'Dr. *Walker* and Mr. *Gifford* were both privy to theſe Affairs, li-'ving

'ving together in the Biſhop's Houſe, though the Doctor is uncer-
'tain whether he ever read this Book in Manuſcript, or only ſaw
'it with its Title of the Chapters, though he thinks that Mr. *Gif-*
'*ford* might Copy it out.

'Dr. *Walker* diſcourſed Major *Huntington* at *Tunbridge*, about the
'King's Papers, who told him, That he had been under Exami-
'nation about that Affair before ſeveral Committees of Parliament,
'and all that ever he ſaid was, That he had ſeen ſeveral Manu-
'ſcripts of the King's whilſt he attended him, which he conjectur-
'ed might be thoſe; but never affirmed them to be ſo, becauſe he
'never read one word of them. Of this Teſtimony we ſhall have occaſion to make uſe hereafter.

P. 4. Dr. *Walker* ſays, *Dr.* Gauden *ſhewed me the Heads, and ſome of the Diſcourſes, and after ſome time ſpent in Peruſal, I expreſly added, I ſtuck at the Lawfulneſs of it; and modeſtly askt him, How he ſatisfied himſelf ſo to impoſe upon the World?* In *p.* 35. Dr. *Walker* makes his Apology for diſcovering this Secret, after he had ſuppreſt the knowledge of it for forty Years; and complains how hard meaſure it would be not to ſuffer a Man to reveal that, by concealing of which he fears God is diſpleaſed, and he neceſſitated to labour under a continued Uneaſineſs and Diſſatisfaction of his own Mind: And he confeſſeth, he had many cogent Reaſons to perſuade him that God was not well pleaſed with Dr. *Gauden*, others, and himſelf, for what we contributed to it. This is well conſidered, but it is very inconſiderately added, what he ſays in a few Lines after, *That he ſuffered this Diſcovery to be wrung and wreſted from him, by ſome Body's impertinent Affectation to meddle with what he underſtood not*; for if he had been really troubled in Conſcience for concealing that Secret, which he there gives for the revealing of it, *i. e. Becauſe as we muſt not ſpeak wickedly for God, nor talk deceitfully for him, neither may we do ſo for any Man.* And as St. *Auguſtine* ſays, *An officious Lye ought not to be told to ſave the whole World.* And that there was more than Appearance of Pious Fraud in this Affair, which by his Silence he contributed to the maintaining of; a Perſon truly conſciencious would have timely, freely, and ingenuouſly have made the Diſcovery, and not ſuffered the Wound to rankle and diſquiet him for forty Years together, and not ſeek eaſe by diſcovering of it till he was forc't to it in his own Defence.

Dr. *Walker* adds, *p.* 4. *That he dining ſometime after with Dr.* Gauden *in* London, *he went with him after Dinner to Bp.* Duppa; *and*

Dr.

Dr. Gauden *having had some discourse with the Bishop, Dr.* Gauden *told Dr.* Walker, *That the substance of their discourse was to this effect: That the Bishop told Dr.* Gauden, *there were two Subjects more which he propounded to the Doctor to write on,* (viz.) *The Ordinance against the Common Prayer, and the denying the Attenaance of his Majesty's Chaplains; but on second Thoughts the Bishop desired the Doctor to leave the writing on those two Heads to him; which accordingly he did, as Dr.* Gauden *own'd to Dr.* Walker, *and others who were privy to the whole.*

Ans. I am fully persuaded by the little Knowledge that I had of Bp. *Duppa*, that all the Art that Bp. *Gauden* had, could never have drawn Bp. *Duppa* to consent with, and assist him in what Dr *Walker* accounts a Pious Fraud, more than appearance of Evil; the very concealing of which was a Trouble to Dr. *Walker*'s Conscience forty Years together; or if he had done such a thing, he would have hazarded his Majesty's Favour, whose Judgment was, as he declares, in the last of his Meditations, on the Reformation of the Times, *That as good Ends cannot justifie evil Means, so nor will evil Beginnings ever bring forth good Conclusions.* And if Dr. *Gauden* had written that Period, he had been Self-condemned, as well as by the Apostle those are who say, *Let us do evil that good may come of it.*

Now if others (how many Dr. *Walker* saith not, and perhaps he might not know all that) were privy to the whole, it is probable some of them before their Deaths might have revealed this Secret, or if any of them were living would have been produced to confirm the Doctor's Testimony, but we must take all on his word: Though if Bp. *Duppa* had written on those two Heads, there might be some difference observed in the Stile; which appears to Dr. *Walker* himself to be exactly of the same Thread; and hugely differing both from the Bishop's and the Doctor's manner of writing, as will appear hereafter. But the reason which he gives why it was unlikely that Dr. *Gauden* neither thought nor wrote on these Subjects, seems very infirm, *p.* 7. he says, *Dr.* Gauden *was less concerned to think on them.* What? less than to think of writing on the Covenant; which Dr. *Walker* says he had taken, *p.* 7. and against which not long after he wrote a large Treatise. Or was he less concern'd to write of the *Common Prayer Book*, which was made the Apple of Contention? especially when that Dr. *Walker* observes a little before, *p.* 7. That when Dr. *Gauden* discover'd his Error he endeavoured to redeem it by an ἀμέλεια ἐ αὐδολκῆς, by bending to the

the contrary Extream. Or was he leſs concern'd to write of the neceſſary Uſefulneſs of his Majeſty's Chaplains in his great Diſtreſs, when the Doctor himſelf had the Attendance of two ſuch as Dr. *Walker* and Mr. *Gifford*? Doubtleſs the Doctor could not but apprehend it to be a moſt Unchriſtian Rigor, to have the Attendance of his Spiritual Monitors and Comforters denied to him when he was in Extremity, and appointed as a Sheep for the Slaughter: Dr. *Gauden* knew better, and was more concerned to write on this Subject, than to give Rules to the Prince how to Govern the Kingdoms.

P. 5. Dr. *Walker* asking Dr. *Gauden*, Whether the King had ever ſeen the Book? Anſwered, *I know it certainly no more than you, but I ſent a Copy of it by the Marqueſs of* Hartford, *when he went to the* Iſle of Wight, *intreating him on a private Opportunity to deliver it to his Majeſty, and humbly deſire to know his Majeſty's Pleaſure concerning it; but the Violence which threatned the King haſtning ſo faſt, he ventured to print it, and never knew what was the Iſſue of ſending it.*

Anſ. It looks very odly, that Dr. *Gauden* having committed ſo great a Buſineſs to the Marqueſs's Management, ſhould never (having many Opportunities after his return from the *Iſle of Wight,*) enquire, Whether the King had ſeen the Book, and how he approved of the Deſign? And no leſs ſtrange, that Dr. *Gauden* ſhould preſume to print ſuch a Volume in the King's Name, and make ſuch Appeals and Proteſtations as if he had been made his Majeſty's Proxy, and were authorized, *Jurare in Animam ſuam.* And what great Hopes could the Doctor conceive, that the publiſhing of the Book could ſtop the current of Violence which threatned the King, when it had born down all the Mediation uſed by foreign Ambaſſadors, all the Oppoſition made by the then Parliament voting his Majeſty's Conceſſions a ſufficient Ground for a Treaty of Peace, the many Inſurrections and Revolts of the People by Land, and of the Navy by Sea, and the *Scots* Remonſtrances, and Arming on his Majeſty's behalf? What hopes, I ſay, could Dr. *Gauden* conceive that his Book ſhould be a Charm ſufficient to calm that impetuous Torrent, which grew the more rapid for all thoſe Oppoſitions? This, and the Doctor's Neglect to enquire of the Marqueſs, whether the King did approve of the Pious Fraud, may induce the conſidering Reader to believe, that the Doctor did not convey any ſuch Book of his to his Majeſty by the Marqueſs, for which we have no Evidence beſides Dr. *Walker*'s bare

Word: and in the first Testimony Dr. *Walker* says, That Dr. *Gauden* had no account of it a little before his Death. Tho' the Marquess and the Doctor lived somewhile after the Restauration. And Dr. *Walker* says, That Dr. *Gauden* being askt, Whether K. *Charles* the Second knew that he wrote the Book? answer'd, That he could not certainly say he did, because he never took notice of it to him; but he took it for granted, because the Duke of *York* knew it, and spake of it to him, and owned it as a seasonable and acceptable Service; and he knowing it, I question not but the King doth also.

Ans. For all this we have only Dr. *Walker*'s bare Word, and that imports not that the King knew it, but upon a Presumption that the Duke did. Now to this Dr. *Hollingworth* replies, *p.* 4. It is strange that if the King, *Charles* the Second knew of it, and the Marquess of *Hartford*, and Bp. *Duppa*, who could have informed the King of the great Merit of Dr. *Gauden* in writing and publishing that Book, that Dr. *Gauden* should have no Preferment but the Bishoprick of *Exeter* for the present; and that when (as Dr. *Walker* says,) he had a Promise of *Wincheſter*, he failed of it. And as Dr. *Gauden* says, The King seemed averse from giving it to him; which was to fail of his Word. And as Dr. *Gauden* confesseth, he was not certain that the King knew of it, a little before his Translation from *Exeter* to *Worcester*: I say it is strange, that the King should deny him any Kindness, especially that which he had promised, when he gave Dr. *Reynolds* the Bishoprick of *Norwich*, and offered others to Persons that had deserved Rewards of another kind.

Dr. *Walker* says, *That Mrs.* Gauden, *his Wife, Mr.* Gifford, *who he thinks transcribed a Copy of it, and himself, believed it, as much as they could any Matter of Fact.*

Ans. As to Mrs. *Gauden* I have had a Report, (as from Dr. *Walker,*) That she being interrogated on the Sacrament, *Whether her Husband was the Author of this Book?* She declared upon her taking the Sacrament, *That he told her that he was.* This is confronted by Dr. *Hollingworth* p. 10. who was assured by a Reverend and Learned Minister in *London*, that a Lady of good Quality told him, *That she being in company with Mrs.* Gauden, *she told her, That she had a great concern for the eternal State of her Husband, because he pretended to be the Author of that Book, when to her knowledge he never writ it.* Both these Testimonies cannot be true, if Mrs. *Gauden* spake them; and this makes me think one of them was Dr. *Walker*'s; for this is

so

ſo material a Proof, that if Dr. *Walker* knew the truth of it, I wonder why he omitted it in his printed Book; it is a ſhrewd Preſumption againſt a Witneſs, when he ſo varieth in his Teſtimony, as to add a material Evidence at one time, and to omit another at another time; when a Perſon is unconſtant and inconſiſtent with himſelf in a Matter of great importance, it is an Argument of Unfaithfulneſs. Again, by this Solemnity of Mrs. *Gauden*'s diſcovering her Husband to be the Author of that Book, upon her taking the Sacrament, the Intent ſeems to be, that this Secret might be laid open, and made notorious; and to that end that the Communicants were made acquainted with it, and if it were at a publick Sacrament, there was likely a full Congregation, if it were a private Sacrament, deſired by Mrs. *Gauden* for the Eaſe of her Conſcience, (as Dr. *Walker* found the concealing it to be a Trouble to his,) yet we ſuppoſe there muſt be at leaſt three Communicants by whoſe Teſtimony Mrs. *Gauden*'s Declaration might be confirmed, and the Notoriety of the thing be perpetuated: How comes it to paſs after all this, the thing ſhould remain a Secret ſtill, and not known (for ought we yet hear of,) to any one but Dr. *Walker*.

As to Mr. *Gifford*, whom Dr. *Walker* ſuppoſeth to have been the Tranſcriber of the Copy, and to have believed it as much as himſelf, I have oppoſed the Teſtimony of Dr. *Edw. Lake*, Archdeacon of *Exeter*, who was well acquainted with Mr. *Gifford*, and his ſingle Teſtimony far more Credible than Dr. *Walker*'s.

Dr. *Walker* ſays, That Dr. *Gauden* delivered to him what was laſt ſent up, giving ſtrict Caution with what Warineſs to carry and deliver it; and accordingly he delivered it, *Saturday, December* 23d, 48, to one *Peacock*, who was inſtructed by what Hands to tranſmit it to Mr. *Royſton*. *See his Account of* March 23d, 1690.

This the Doctor ſays, to ſhew his great Care to diſcharge his Truſt; who notwithſtanding the ſtrict Caution with what Warineſs to carry and deliver it, he committed it to one *Peacock*, a Brother to Dr. *Gauden*'s Bailiff, with new Inſtructions by what other Hands he ſhould tranſmit it to Mr. *Royſton*; whereas he acknowledgeth that the bigger part of this Book was delivered by Dr. *Gauden* to Mr. *Simmonds*. He wanted a good Memory, as he ſays of Dr. *Hollingworth*.

The Reader cannot but obſerve, that in all this tedious Narrative, he meets with no other Evidence but Dr. *Walker*'s bare Word,

which will not amount to a single Testimony, being invalidated by his own Relation of Matters of Fact, very inconsistent with each other, and unsatisfactory to himself, and wanting a further Confirmation, is forced to find out probable Reasons, such as they be in,

SECT. III. *Of his probable Arguments to Confirm himself, and help to Convince others,* &c.

The first probable Argument is, *That Dr.* Gauden *in the beginning of the Long Parliament, which carried on the War against the King, preacht before them on* Zach. 8. 19. *which Sermon is printed; and the House of Commons presented him with a large Silver Tankard, with this Inscription,* Donum Honorarium Populi Anglicani in Parliamento congregati Johanni Gauden, &c. *which constantly went about his House; and he had been inclinable to the Parliament Interest, till he found they went beyond their first Pretentions, and the Expectations of himself and other good Men: When he discover'd that, he endeavoured to redeem his Error by bending to the contrary Extream. And I am perswaded it was this that put him on the designing and finishing of this Book.*

This Argument is so far from being probable, and fit for Conviction, that it is more like to move Laughter, for it may conclude thus for Dr. *Walker* as well as for Dr. *Gauden,* Dr. *Walker* had been of the Parliament Party against the King, was a Favourite of the Party, and a Chaplain to them, but when they went beyond his Expectation, he bended to the contrary Extream, therefore Dr. *Walker* wrote the Εἰκὼν Βατολική. But though the Argument doth not make this probable, yet it shews a great Probability, that Dr. *Gauden* hath bended to contrary Extreams; but Dr. *Walker* is more constant to his first Principles.

Dr. *Walker*'s second probable Argument is drawn from the fourteenth Chapter, *(i. e.)* of the Covenant; and *p.* 6. he relates it at large to this effect: *That being privy to the truth of this Affair, out of Curiosity he asked Dr.* Barwick, *Dean of St.* Paul's, *What he thought of this Book? for the thing being doubtfully spoken of, he made bold to ask his Judgment of it.* The Dean pressed him with this Argument, *If it were written by any but the King, it must be a Friend, or an Enemy; not by an Enemy, for no Enemy of the King would have represented him so much to his Advantage; not by a Friend, for no Friend of his would write as he doth of the Covenant,* &c. Meaning so favourably.

Anſ. It is highly improbable that Dr. *Barwick,* who doubtless had con-

conſidered that Chapter againſt the Covenant, would have choſen ſuch an Argument, when there is as much ſaid in that Chapter to condemn the Covenant, as could rationally be expected; for in the firſt Paragraph he ſays, That *it was a pawning of their Souls to the Presbyterian* Scots *by a Solemn League and Covenant.* In the ſecond he calls it, *An Engine intended chiefly to batter down Epiſcopacy*; and compares it to a Charm and Exorciſm. In the third, That *it contained many dubious and dangerous Limitations*; referring to himſelf, *and things very diſputable, which could not be ſworn to with Judgment and Certainty to a Man's ſelf, or Charity and Candor to others.* P. 4. That *impoſing Oaths on People muſt needs in things doubtful be dangerous, and in things unlawful* (as he had proved this to be by his Proclamation, and the irrefragrable Arguments of the Univerſity of *Oxford* had determin'd,) *was damnable.* P. 5. That *it was not only ſuperfluous, but irreconcilable to former Oaths, and the Proteſtation ſo lately taken to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of* England, *ſince they account Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.* P. 6. That *it was laid as a Snare and Engine by Men of ambitious Minds to catch and hold vulgar Credulity, under the Terror of Perjury.* P. 7. That *ſuch After-contracts impoſed without and againſt the King's Conſent, or any Power or Preſident from the Laws of God or Man, could not abſolve the Subjects from thoſe Moral Bonds of Duty which lay on their Conſciences both to God and the King*; *and calls it a mocking of God.* Now what Friend of the King's needed to reflect more ſeverely upon the Covenant, than the King himſelf hath done? I can therefore hardly think that Dr. *Barwick* would uſe this as an Argument that it was written by the King himſelf, becauſe no Friend of his would have written ſo favourably of it. It rather ſeems a contrived Argument of one that would ſolve his own Hypotheſis: That Dr. *Gauden* wrote that Book, becauſe in the Chapter of the Covenant there are ſome things ſpoken in favour of it, which beſt became Dr. *Gauden*, who ſpeaks the more favourably becauſe he had taken it, than any of the King's Friends or himſelf would have done. That which ſeems moſt in favour of the Covenant, is this: *That the Impoſers of it were content to make it like Manna (not that it came from Heaven as Manna did,) agreeable to every Man's palate who would ſwallow it*; *they admit any Man's ſences of it, though divers or contrary, with any Salvo's, Cautions, and Reſervations, ſo as they croſs not their chief Deſign laid againſt the Church and me*; *(i. e.)* the King. Now this is as ſharp a Reprimand as could be conceived, where the King ſhews how the Covenanters mock-

mocked God by Salvo's, Cautions, and Reservations, used as Baits to draw the People into their Snares; he was far enough from approving such shuffling Cautions in a Solemn Covenant which was to be taken in Judgment, in Truth, and in Righteousness, *Jer.* 4. 2. The King adds, That *in such Latitudes of Sences, he believes many that loved Him and the Church, might take the Covenant, who were not so taken by it as to act clearly against both Piety and Loyalty; and that many yielded to it more to prevent imminent Violence and Ruine, which in case of denial hung over their heads, than for any Value of it, or Devotion to it.* He adds, *That the Latitude of some general Clauses may perhaps serve somewhat to relieve them, as of doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may in their Places and Callings, and according to the Word of God, for these carry no Man beyond those Bounds of good Conscience, which are certain and fixed either to God's Laws, as to the general, or the Laws of the Kingdom as to the particular Exercise of Mens Duties.* And therefore he *desires such as glory most in the Name of Covenanters, to keep themselves within those lawful Bounds.* In all which there appears such Charity and Prudent and Pious Advice as becomes the best of Kings: And therefore the mature Consideration of this Chapter is a more propable Argument that it was penned by the King rather than by Dr. *Gauden*, or any other, who could not add as the King doth, *I willingly forgive such Mens taking the Covenant, who keep within such Bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty.*

This Discourse which he pretends to have had with Dr. *Barwick*, who he says was his Tutor, gave him a fair Opportunity (if the concealing of his Secret had been a real Trouble to him,) to acquaint his Tutor, *as he voluntarily offered to inform the Archbishop* Sandcroft, how much he and the World were deceived, as to the Author of that Book, whom he knew to be Bp. *Gauden*; and that his handling the Covenant so gently, was because he had taken the Covenant. But this probable Argument might have been turned to a plain Confutation of his Fiction, from what is repeated out of that Chapter; which without doubt Dr. *Barwick* had read and considered better, than to conclude that it spoke in favour of the Covenant.

The Doctor's third probable Argumentis as the former, his single Affirmation, *That Dr.* Gauden *told him, that Bp.* Duppa *wrote the two Chapters concerning the Liturgy and Chaplains; and his free declaring that he neither thought nor wrote of these Subjects; and that* (as Dr. *Walker* says) *it was unlikely he should, renders it very probable he spake the truth in declaring that he wrote the rest.* *Ans.*

Anſ. That the King had great reaſon both to think and write of thoſe Subjects, is very obvious; and as evident, that Dr. *Gauden* had more reaſon to think and write of them then of ſeveral other Heads, particularly that which reflects ſo much on his Reputation, having been a Covenanter; and that other of preſcribing Rules to the Prince for the Government of his Kingdoms. But of this I have ſaid enough before; I only add, It was very improper to call the Prince his Son, and the Queen his Wife, *&c.*

The fourth probable Argument is, *That Dr.* Walker *met with Expreſſions in the Devotional Part, very frequently uſed by Dr.* Gauden *in his Prayers; which he never heard from any other Man, and moſt Men in their Prayers eſpecially have peculiar Phraſes and Modes of expreſſing themſelves: And where ſuch occur, 'tis a probable Evidence they proceed from him to whom they were peculiar.*

Anſ. I wiſh the Doctor had given us ſome of thoſe Phraſes and Modes; I have compared the Stile and ſeveral Expreſſions of the Doctor's in a Treatiſe of his, which the Reader ſhall find hereafter, as much differing from the Phraſes and Expreſſions in the King's Book, as the Waters of *Siloah*, which go ſoftly, from the rapid Falls of *Nile*, which keep within no Bounds, and abound with Mud and Monſters: The King's Expreſſions are moſtly in Scripture-phraſe, which though other Men do uſe, yet few do apply more pertinently and affectionately; and what Meditations are properly his own, few Men of his Age could imitate, for the Matter or Stile: And Dr. *Gauden* is as far from it as moſt Writers of that Age. But to talk of peculiar Expreſſions, *&c.* and not to give one Inſtance, is but to beat the Air.

The fifth Argument concerning the *Apophthegmata Carolina* is already anſwered; now when all theſe five probable Arguments are (as he ſays) joyned together, and the Reader hath conſidered that they are only Dr. *Walker*'s Affirmations, they will rather conclude that his Knowledge was very imperfect that needed ſuch Proofs to confirm it, which as Dr. *Walker* acknowledgeth, do more harm than good. And I think that no Impartial Reader will be convinced by them; for if, as Dr. *Walker* ſays, that believing or not believing depends upon the Clearneſs or Cogency of the Motives of Credibility, or the Weakneſs and Inſufficiency of them, no Man will build his Belief on ſuch a ſandy Foundation: *And,* as Dr. *Walker* ſays, *we may ſuppoſe that Houſe is likely to fall that is ſupported by ſuch Props.*

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The Teſtimony which I mentioned before, Dr. *Charles Goodal* aſſures me he had from Dr. *Walker*'s own mouth, *March* 23d, 1690, and it requires a few Remarks, As firſt, where it ſays, that the bigger part of the Book was delivered by Dr. *Gauden* to Mr. *Simmonds*:

Remark 1. Then Dr. *Gauden* and Mr. *Simmonds* were no ſuch Strangers (as Dr. *Walker* repreſents them,) when the Book was preparing for the Preſs, and probably Mr. *Simmonds* well knew who the Author was, and whatever Dr. *Walker* did, Mr. *Simmonds* would not have conſented to the publiſhing of it in the King's Name, if it were Dr. *Gauden*'s; for if the Fraud had been found out, it would have more diſparaged the King and his Cauſe, than the concealing of it could have advantaged it; the King's great Abilities and Innocency being better known and believed than to need ſuch Props and Fallacious Means to ſupport it, which I believe his pious Soul would have abhorred, if it had been propoſed to him.

Rem. 2. If the bigger part of the Book was delivered by Dr. *Gauden* to Mr. *Simmonds*, that delivery might be only a return of what the Doctor had received before from Mr. *Simmonds*, for he was chiefly intruſted with the printing of it, as appears by the returning of the Proof-ſheets to him to Correct them; and if Dr. *Gauden* had been the Author, he had better means to ſend it to the Preſs, and was more fit to correct his own Copy, than to commit this Work, and the Secret of Dr. *Gauden*'s being the Author of it, to a Sequeſtred Man, who as the Event ſhews, was ſuſpected, and hardly eſcaped a full Diſcovery, whereas both Dr. *Gauden* and *Walker* were Favourites of the Times.

Rem. 3. Whereas he ſays, that he and Mr. *Gifford*, who both lived in Dr. *Gauden*'s Houſe, knew this Secret; I have ſhewn that Mr. *Gifford* was of a contrary Perſwaſion to that of Dr. *Walker*'s, for Mr. *Gifford* ſpake of it, and quoted it in his Sermon as the King's Book, and he being the Tranſcriber of it, as Dr. *Walker* intimates, had more opportunity and means to inform himſelf who was the Author.

Rem. 4. Dr. *Walker* ſays, He was uncertain whether he ever read the Book in Manuſcript, but only ſaw it with the Titles of the Chapters. This is contrary to what he had more than once affirmed, That he had read it, and particularly that Chapter concerning the Earl of *Strafford*; whereupon he diſcourſed with Dr. *Gauden*, and queſtioned, How he could ſatisfie himſelf to impoſe ſuch

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a Book on the World in the King's Name? *P.* 4. He ſays, *Dr.* Gauden *ſhewed me the Heads of divers Chapters, and ſome of the Diſcourſes written of them, and after ſometime ſpent in the Peruſal, he askt my Opinion of it*; which amounts to a Contradiction, ſcarcely to be excus'd by the Uncertainty of his Memory: But if he never read the Book in Manuſcript, how could he be ſo certain that the Book was of Dr. *Gauden*'s Compiling? And indeed the Intenion of doing the King Service by ſuch an Impoſture, was in Dr. *Gauden* ſuch a Sin as the making of a Practical Lye, and in Dr. *Walker* who concealed it, and by Silence gave Conſent, a making himſelf a Party, which Dr. *Walker* from St. *Auguſtine* condemns as a thing not to be practiſed for the ſaving of the World.

Rem. 5. Whereas Dr. *Walker* ſays, That Dr. *Gauden* being asked, How he could ſatisfie himſelf in writing ſuch a Book in the King's Name? That he replied, *Look on the Title*; and ſaid, *no Man uſeth to draw his own Picture.* This is overthrown by Mr. *Clifford*'s Teſtimony, *p.* 4. of Dr. *Holling.* where it is affirmed, That Mr. *Royſton* ſhewed the firſt Proof-ſheet to Dr. *Taylor*, the Title whereof was, *The Royal Plea*, which the Doctor ſaid would betray the Book, there being two Informers, *Cheltenham* and *Jones*, who would diſcover the Book by the Title, and therefore Dr. *Taylor* wrote to the King to have it changed, and had leave to call it Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, which thoſe Informers could not underſtand being *Greek*. This Teſtimony concerning the Title, ſeems more rational than that which Dr. *Walker* reports from Dr. *Gauden*, who, as Dr. *Walker* reports, would excuſe himſelf for impoſing his Book on the World as if it were the King's, becauſe no Man uſeth to draw his own Picture. When I conſider Dr. *Walker*'s ſubjoyning theſe probable Arguments to confirm his poſitive Aſſertion, and to convince his Reader; it minded me of the frequent Salvo's uſed by our News-writers, who having related a fictitious Story to fill up their Papers, are wont to add, *But this needs a Confirmation*; and then 'tis an hundred to one but they have made a falſe Relation. When we ſee a Man conſtantly uſing Crutches, we conclude he is an infirm Perſon; and we may gueſs at the ſtrength of the Doctor's Perſwaſion and Affirmation by the Cogency of his probable Arguments.

So that if this Relation was taken from Dr. *Walker*'s own mouth, as Dr. *Goodal* aſſures me, and I am induced to believe, becauſe Dr. *Walker* ſays, *Sect.* 5. *p.* 34. That he had occaſionally, and when he had been deſired, declared the Subſtance of what he now

hath written. And I have been credibly informed, That Dr. *Walker* had often ſpoken too freely of this Affair in Coffee-houſes and to ſeveral Companies, not without much Variation in the Circumſtances from what he ſays he is now forced to write; and it hath been obſerved, that ſome Men have ſo long divulged their own Fancies, that at laſt they have believed them to be true; and to ſave their Reputation from being accounted vain Perſons, are ready to ſwear to what they have ſaid: In which I wiſh the Reader could find cauſe to excuſe the Doctor, and believe that what he hath reported is a true Story, and not a ſtrong Imagination, becauſe he teſtifieth of himſelf, That it is both naturally and morally next to impoſſible that it ſhould be ſo, *p.* 17. to which he would perſwade his Reader, becauſe his Story is ſo ſelf-conſiſtent in all its parts; which he ſays the *Aldgate Doctor's* is not.

Anſ. I think it as poſſible for Dr. *Walker* to tell a falſe Story after another Man, as for Dr. *Hollingworth*, and ſeeing they relate ſuch different Stories as cannot both be true, it is more likely that he that grounds his Confidence on the Relation of a ſingle Perſon, and tells the Story with many Imperfections, Inconſiſtencies, and Contradictions, though he make his Appeals to God for the Truth of it, as too many do in every Court, ſhould be adjudged to tell an Untruth, rather than he who proves the Veracity of his Relation by a much more conſiderable number of Men of good Reputation, than the Laws of God or Man require for the ending of Controverſies. And whereas he complains, *p.* 35. *That it is hard meaſure not to ſuffer a Man to reveal that, by concealing which he fears God is diſpleaſed, and he neceſſitated to labour under a continued Diſſatisfaction of Mind.* I wonder what Neceſſity forced him againſt his mind to conceal this Secret, when he being a Chaplain at *Warwick-houſe*, was under a great Temptation of being highly preferred by his Patrons, if at that time he had freely diſcovered it, and therewithal eaſed his Conſcience from that which kept him uneaſie forty Years together. He concludes after all his confident Affirmations and probable Arguments, as a Sceptick, *p.* 37. *If any Man can produce ſtronger Reaſons for the Negative part, I do not ſay only I will, but that I muſt believe that contrary part.* How vainly therefore doth he beſeech him that ſhall write againſt him to write nothing for the Truth of which he doth not make the like Appeals to God which he hath done, which I think no good Man will do upon ſuch uncertain Hearſays and probable Arguments, as Dr. *Walker* makes his Appeals;

Appeals; from doing whereof the Advertiſement of the Printer may be a Diſcouragement, *(viz.) That the Author coming to* London *to publiſh this Treatiſe, it pleaſed God before it was finiſhed at the Preſs, to take him to himſelf.* However, this Point we have gained by Dr. *Walker*'s Conceſſion, *That if any Man can produce more probable Arguments for the contrary Opinion, he muſt be of that Perſwaſion,* as Dr. *Walker* ſaid he would and muſt. Which I doubt not to perform, to the full Satisfaction of the Reader.

SECT. IV. *p.*8. *Contains an Anſwer to Dr.* Hollingworth's *Poſtſcript.*

This Section which fills up fourteen or fifteen Pages, contains an inſolent and ſupercillious Conteſt with a far better Man than himſelf. P.8. Dr. *Holling.* ſays, *Some Men have with Induſtry endeavoured to perſwade the World, that the Book was a Forgery, and not of the King's Compiling*; and names the *Eſſex Doctor.* This Dr. *Walker*, the *Eſſex Doctor,* ſays, is an unlucky Omen, to ſtumble ſo at the Threſhold, becauſe he calls it an Objection againſt the King.

Reply. If the writing of the Book gained great Honour and Reputation to the King, then thoſe Objectors that denied the King to be the Author, did ſcandalouſly reflect upon his Majeſty: Dr. *Walker* grants the Antecedent, and therefore the Concluſion will follow.

P. 10. Dr. *Hollingworth, I could not believe that any Man could write at that Divine rate, but he that felt the Miſeries which ſuggeſt ſuch Thoughts and Heavenly Meditations.*

Dr. *Walker* inſtead of an Anſwer, ſays only, That this is borowed from Sir *W. Dugdale,* who agreed in the ſame Sentiment with Dr. *Hollingworth,* in theſe words: *The unlikelihood that any ſuch Expreſſions could flow from a Heart not oppreſſed and grieved with ſuch a weight of Sorrow as his was,* &c.

I believe that moſt judicious Perſons do herein agree with Dr. *H.* and Sir *W. D.* And Dr. *W.* grants it *p.* 11. That *our Affections are kindled by our preſent Circumſtances, and ſurpriſing Mercies or Calamities are Springs of ſuch Joy or Sorrow as ſharpen or ſet an edge on our Expreſſions, and inſtil ſuch an Air, Energy, and ſutable Eloquence, which the ſame Perſon could not reach at another time.* Dr. *Earle* agreed with Sir *W. Dugdale,* That no afflicted Prince, but K. *Charles* could pen ſuch Meditations.

Dr. *Walker, When a Man deſigns to perſonate another, he adapts his*

Words and Expressions with second and third Thoughts, takes a great deal of Pains, useth a studious Industry to fit every Thought to such a Condition, every Affection to such a Thought, and every Expression to be a lively Εικὼν of such a Passion or Affection.

Ans. Now supposing that Dr. *Gauden* wrote that Book, he used a studious Industry to imitate the King's usual Words and Expressions, so that in Dr. *Gauden*'s Opinion the King had a very excellent Train of Thoughts, and fit Words to express them, not to be imitated without second and third Thoughts, and great Pains and Industry. And whoever shall diligently compare the King's undoubted Writings with those of Dr. *Gauden*'s, will be fully convinced that neither for the Excellency of Thoughts or Elegancy of expressing them, the Doctor hath in any measure imitated the Stile of the King's Book; in which, as Dr. *W.* observes, *p.* 12. the Evenness of the Thought and Expression, that Equality of the Stile and Affection, and the same Thread running quite through from first to last, may persuade the Reader that it was not compiled by two such different Men as Bp. *Duppa* and Dr. *Gauden*, but by that Great King, of whom Dr. *W.* says, *p.* 1. That *his Honour is secured by his acknowledged Wisdom, celebrated Vertues, exemplary Patience, and Christian Magnanimity in his Sufferings.* Now for Dr. *W.* to infer from the King's Sufferings, that he was not the Author of that Book, because the Hurry of Miseries which attended him, (as Dr. *W.* thinks) must distract and alter the Temper of his Mind, is an irreparable Injury to the Memory of that Good King, who as he was observed to be of an equal Temper of Mind, under various Conditions, so his Sufferings gave him Opportunity and Vacancy for sedate and deliberate Thoughts: And (as the King acknowledged) occasion'd great Improvement both of his Parts and Pious Devotions; which all that knew him could testifie, neither his Victories nor his Overthrows could at any time cause him to intermit. Of which we have this remarkable Instance, That twenty Years before his death, the News of the Assassination of his great Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham*, being brought him while he was at Prayer, he took no other notice of it, than to apply himself more earnestly to his Devotions. Nor was he more disturbed at that ugly Sentence for his death: And when the Commissioners at the Treaty in *Newport* insisted on their Unreasonable Demands, he told them, *He could with more comfort cast himself on his Saviour's Goodness to support and defend him from all Afflictions that might befal him, rather then*

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for any Politick Conſiderations which might ſeem to be a Means of reſtoring him, to deprive himſelf of the Tranquility of his Mind.

P. 13. Dr. *Walker* objects againſt Dr. *Hollingworth*, that he ſaith in that Page, That the Book was ſent by a truſty Meſſenger to Mr. *Simmonds* from the King. But *p.* 39. That he deſired Bp. *Juxon* to get ſome truſty Friend to look it over, and put it into exact Order: And hereupon he inſults over Dr. *Hollingworth* as having a bad Memory, and publiſhing things inconſiſtent, *&c.* Whereas he that ſhall obſerve how Dr. *Hollingworth* diſtinguiſheth the time, *viz. That in the Year* 1647, *the King ſent the moſt conſiderable part of his Book, which was in looſe Papers, to Bp.* Juxton *to get it put into good Order*; *the Biſhop ſent it to Sir* J. Brattle's *Father, who having digeſted and tranſcribed it, was conveyed back to the King*; *and being perfected by the addition of more Chapters, and made ready for the Preſs in the Year* 48, *was ſent to Mr.* Simmonds *to publiſh it.* These Relations agree ſo well, and Sir *J. Brattle*'s Teſtimony was ſo authentick, that Dr. *W.* was well aware it would be too hot for his Fingers. *This Dr. W. confeſſed* March 23, 1690.

It is highly probable that more Copies than one were tranſcribed from the Original written by the King's hand, 1. Becauſe of the great Eſteem the King had for it. 2. The great Fear leſt one or two Copies might fall into the hands of his Enemies, as his Cabinet did at *Naſeby*. 3. Becauſe the King was adding to or altering of ſome parts in the Original a little before his cloſe Impriſonment. I have ſhewed Reaſons to induce the Reader to believe that, Dr. *Symonds* had a perfect Copy by which it was printed, and by it he was enabled to correct the Proof-ſheets: And it is poſſible, that Dr. *Gauden* might cauſe a Copy of this to be tranſcribed by Mr. *Gifford*, as Dr. *Walker* thinks. Mr. *Clifford* declares, That the King for fear the Original ſhould be loſt, ordered Mr. *Odert*, Secretary to Sir *Edw. Nicholas*, Principal Secretary of State, to tranſcribe it, and lodged the Original in the Marqueſs of *Hartford*'s hands. And by the Copy of Mr. *Odert* he *(i. e.)* Mr. *Clifford* and Mr. *Milbourne* did print the Book. And further he ſaith, That he never heard, nay, that he was ſure that Dr. *Gauden* was never concerned in that Book by which Mr. *Milbourne* and Mr. *Clifford* printed it: And Mr. *Milbourne* the Printer, and Mr. *Clifford* who were concerned in the printing of it, ſay, That the Copy by which it was printed came to his hands all at once.

Sect.

Sect. 5. *p.* 23. Is an Answer to a Treatise intituled, *Restitution to the Royal Author*, wherein is set down this *Memorandum* of the E. of *Anglesey*, on a printed Copy of the King's Book: *K.* Charles *the Second and the Duke of* York, *did both (in the last Sessions of Parliament* 1675, *when I shewed them, in the Lord's House, the written Copy of this Book, wherein are some Corrections and Alterations, written with the late K.* Charles *the First's own hand,) assure me, that this was none of the said King's Compiling, but made by* Dr. *Gauden, Bishop of* Exon; *which I here insert for the Undeceiving others in this Point, by attesting so much under my Hand,* Anglesey.

Ans. Whether the whole, or any part of this *Memorandum* were the Hand writing of the E. of *Anglesey*, is not proved, and therefore the *Author* of the *Restitution* might more freely reflect on it, supposing it not to be the Earl's; and that, First, by the Impropriety of the Expressions, as calling his then *Royal Highness*, which was the proper Court-phrase *(the D. of* York;) but what is more material, is that both the King and Duke should assure him, That this was none of K. *C.* 1st's Compiling, but made by Dr. *Gauden*, Bp. of *Exeter*, which is a greater Impropriety to call him that dyed Bp. of *Worcester*, Bp. of *Exeter*; which *Charles* the 2d must needs know, having had so great a Contest with him when he granted him the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, who had a Promise of *Winchester*; of which Dr. *Walker* gives a large account, *p.* 15, 16, 17, 18. And whereas the Earl says, they both did assure him, *&c.* Quere what Arguments they used; Dr. *W.* himself would not have taken their bare Words for an Assurance, seeing that he still reserved a liberty to dissent from what he says, *He was so well perswaded of, as of any matter of Fact, if more probable Arguments were produced.*

But against the bare Word of this Royal Pair, the Author observes the publick Acts of *Charles* the 2d, who *Anno* 1660, gave Mr. *Royston* (as a Requital of printing his Father's Book,) the sole Priviledge of printing all the Works of K. *C.* 1st, among which this Book hath a particular Character of Recommendation; the substance of the Priviledge is in these words, Charles *the Second*, &c. *whereas we have received sufficient Testimony of the Fidelity and Loyalty of our Servant* Richard Royston, *and of the great Losses and Troubles he sustained for his Faithfulness to our Royal Father of Blessed Memory, and Our self, in printing and publishing many Messages and Papers of our said Blessed Father, especially these most excellent Discourses and Soliloquies by the Name of* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ; *Know ye, that it is our Royal Will and Plea-*

Pleaſure, and we do by theſe Preſents grant to the ſaid Richard Royſton, *&c. the ſole printing and publiſhing of the ſaid Meſſages, Papers, and Diſcourſes contained in the Book intituled,* Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ, *with other Papers and Declarations concerning our ſaid Royal Father,* &c.

The ſame Priviledge was granted to Mr. *Royſton* by K. *James* the Second, *Anno* 1685, whence the Author of the *Reſtitution* leaves it to the Readers to judge, whether theſe publick Declarations of both the Kings, made with all the Circumſtance of Advantage, are to be believed before a blind Manuſcript written by a doubtful Hand, and grounded on a private Relation, to which may be added, that K. *James* the Second in a Letter from *Rocheſter* before his Departure, quoted a Paſſage out of his Father's Book, *viz. There is but little between the Priſons and the Graves of Princes.*

To this Dr. *W.* anſwers, That Kings are not ſo Critical as to inſpect the Particulars of their Royal Grants.

To which it may be replied, That if they had been well informed, that this Book was written by Bp. *Gauden,* (as the Memorandum ſays they did affirm,) it was a Crime, *Læſæ Majeſtatis,* to ſay they publickly and perſonally atteſted that to be their Father's, when they believed the contrary.

To this Dr. *Walker* rejoyns an Anſwer by a Parallel Caſe, *Of a Printer's having a Licenſe to print K.* David's *Pſalms, containing in number* 150; *Would this* (ſaith he) *prove that* David *was the Penman of them all? No, ſay I, becauſe the Titles prefixt to many of the Pſalms declare that ſome of them were penned by other Authors, as* Moſes *who lived long before* David, Heman, Aſaph, *&c. who lived after him; and yet the Denomination may be taken from the greater part of the Pſalms, which are acknowledged to be* David's.

But how could that King give a Priviledge to print his Father's Works, if he knew that the Εἰκὼν, which is eſpecially recommended, and for the ſake of which the Collection was made, were not his Father's? But as if this Objection had been foreſeen, it is ſufficiently confuted by the Diſtinction made by both the Kings, between the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, which they own to be their Royal Father's, *and other Papers and Declarations concerning their Royal Father*; for the drawing up of which, they conceived he made uſe of his Miniſters and Secretaries, though it be well known, that his Majeſty of Bleſſed Memory, was wont not only with great Deliberation to review the firſt Draughts, but taking his Pen in hand, to tell them merily, *That he was a pretty good Cobler*; and made ſuch Additions and Alterations

rations as he thought fit; insomuch as they who knew him most intimately, affirmed, That if he had been a Secretary to any other Prince, he would have been esteemed as an Oracle.

But here it may be enquired, How the two Kings were so well assured themselves, that the Book was written by Bp. *Gauden*, as to assure others of it? Whereas Dr. *Walker* says, That Dr. *Gauden* himself knew not to his dying day, whether *Charles* the Second ever knew it, but by Conjecture, because the Duke of *York* knew it. It seems then the King must have the certainty from the Duke; and he that considers the Circumstances in which the Duke was, and what Dependance for Certainty might be grounded on his solemn Words, especially when the Cause of his espoused Church of *Rome* was interposed, will not be easily persuaded, *Jurare in verba*; It is too evident how little he regarded either the Reputation or the Desire and Charge of his dying Father, *p.* 138. of that Book, *viz. I intreat and require you, as your Father and King, That you never suffer your Heart to receive the least Check against, or Disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of* England, *&c.*

But the Author of the *Restitution* urgeth a more considerable Objection, *p.* 24. of Dr. *Walker, That in the written Copy of this Book (the Memorandum says,) there were some Corrections and Alterations written by* K. Charles's *own hand; which the Author of the* Restitution *presseth as an Argument, that the King was the Author, or otherwise there could be no reason given for his Majesty's correcting the Manuscript, and suffering it to pass as a Book of his own Composure; for without question the King knew of the printing of it, having sent to* Royston *to prepare his Press for something that he would send him to be printed, four Months before.* And the whole Book, as Dr. *Walker* owns, was in the Printer's hands in *December*, and the Copies published about the end of *January*; of which the King most probably was certified, it being his great Concern.

Yet Dr. *Walker* answers, *That what the Corrections by the King's own hand seemed to his Adversary to be a Reason of, seems to Dr.* Walker *to be quite contrary; and says, That he assuredly believes this corrected Copy was that sent by the Marquess of* Hartford, *from Dr.* Gauden.

To which it may be replied, That as Dr. *Walker* says, it is not certain that Dr. *Gauden*'s Book was ever delivered to the King; of which as hath been acknowledged by him, the Doctor had never any notice. Nor, *secondly*, that the King had leisure at that important Season, being worried by the Divines that were sent to him,

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in a tedious Diſpute concerning Church-Government, which he ſo well defended againſt them, as in the Account printed in his *Reliquiæ Carolina*, which no Man did ever queſtion to be the King's own, but alſo by the Commiſſioners who were limited to a certain day, and by Delays and Unreaſonable Demands againſt both his Honour and Conſcience, ſo perplexed him, that he had but little time or heart either to View or Correct another Man's Writings. But, *thirdly*, if Dr. *Gauden*'s Copy ſent by the Marqueſs, was the Copy that was corrected by the King's own hand, as Dr. *Walker* ſays he verily believes; then do I aſſuredly believe, that it was not that Copy by which the Book was printed, 1. Becauſe Dr. *Walker* ſays that Dr. *Gauden* having no return from the King concerning his Approbation and Publiſhing of the Book, ſent the laſt parts of it to the Preſs by Dr. *Walker*, in *December*, ſee *p.* 33. whereas he acknowledgeth, that Mr. *Herbert* and Mr. *Levet* might ſee the corrected Copy at the *Iſle of Wight*, as Sir *W. Dugdale* affirms they did, and they attending his Majeſty till he was made a cloſe Priſoner, and by a Vote of the then Parliament for Non-addreſſes, and the impriſoning his Sacred Perſon in *Hurſt-Caſtle*, by order from the Army; which was, as *Whitlock* in his Memoirs notes, to be on the 4th of *December*: The King had no opportunity after that to ſend Dr. *Gauden*'s Book to the Preſs. And Dr. *Walker* ſays, That Dr. *Gauden* would not write for a return of that Copy, but ſent another. So that the Premiſes conſidered, it is moſt probable that the whole Book was long before finiſhed by the King, with the Corrections viewed and brought into order, and fairly tranſcribed by Sir *John Brattle* and his Father, as Sir *John* hath atteſted; and then the Original returned to the King, who had it by him at the *Iſle of Wight*: But the Copy written by Sir *J. Brattle* and his Father, or which is more probable, by Mr. *Odert*, (for it was tranſcribed more than once, for fear of miſcarrying.) Was the Copy recommended to Mr. *Simmonds* to fit it for the Preſs? who moſt probably did procure the printing of it, becauſe the Proof-ſheets were ſent back to him as they were printed off, as Dr. *Walker* confeſſeth in a memorable Story, *p.* 30. And this anſwers thoſe two Objections made by Dr. *Walker* p. 25. *If the King himſelf had been the Author, why was not the Book in his own Hand-writing, as well as the Corrections and Alterations? And why any Corrections of a fair Copy, if he had finiſhed the Original himſelf before it was copied? Or why if he ſent it to be printed, did he not ſend the corrected Copy rather than an imperfect one which need-*

ed his Correction and Alteration? All these Questions are briefly answered thus: The King's Book which was both written and corrected by his own hand, as Mr. *Levet* affirms, was transcribed fairly by another hand, and the Transcript sent to the Press, the Original being returned to the King at the *Isle of Wight*; and this is the Reason why the corrected Copy was not sent to the Press. *P.* 20. Dr. *Walker* says, *That in more than forty Years there may be some Mistake in Sir J. B. of other Papers for these, or some other lapse of Memory*, &c. *Reply*, And why might not Dr. *Walker* in forty Years be guilty of a Mistake or Lapse of Memory about a Matter in which he was less concern'd than Sir *John*, for Dr. *Walker* says, *He never read the Book in Manuscript*, which Sir *John* transcribed, and affirms it still to have been the King's own hand. And why might he not mistake Dr. *Gauden*'s declaring it to be his Book, when he declared only that he published the King's Book; though I see no ground to believe either. As for the corrected Copy, it will appear that the whole Book as well as the Corrections was the King's Hand-writing, by this following Testimony under Mr. *Richard Duke*'s hand communicated to me: *Sir, I confess that I heard Major* Huntington *to say more than once, That whilst he guarded* Charles *the First at* Holmeby-house, *(as I remember) he saw several Chapters or Leaves of that Great King's Meditations, lying on the Table, several Mornings, with a Pen and Ink, with which the King scratched out or blotted some Lines or Words of some of them. Upon which I must also confess, that I concluded they were originally from the King: but others have drawn a contrary Argument from the King's correcting the Papers; yet I put this under my hand, that the Major told me, That he did suppose them originally from that Learned Prince. Which is the* Totum *that can be intimated from, Sir, your humble Servant,* Richard Duke. This was written to Dr. *Charles Goodall, June* 15, 1692, from whom I received it.

This shews that the King was wont to correct his Meditations shortly after his penning of them; and the whole was his Hand-writing, as well as the Corrections from the beginning.

The Author of the *Memorandum* saith, *That he inserted it there (that is, in the void Leaf of a small printed Copy,) for the Undeceiving others in this Point.*

Ans. I should guess that the Earl was scarcely undeceived himself in this Point, by the little heed and care which he took for the undeceiving of others: For first, *It is likely*, says Dr. *Walker*, *that*

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no Eye had ſeen it from the time of the writing of it. Nor did I ever hear that he declared to any other, though I preſumed to ask the Reverend Doctor *Richard Anſley*, the Earl's Son, and Dean of *Exeter*, concerning it: and I agree with Dr. *Walker* in this, *That if Mr.* Millington *had not caſually opened it, it might have fallen into the hands of one that either had not regarded it, or would have concealed it.* p. 31. If the Earl had been fully convinced of the King's Relation, and intended to Undeceive others, as by the *Memorandum* it ſeems he intended to do, what ſhould hinder him to have made a more publick Declaration of a Truth, for which he had the Authority both of the King and Duke, not only to ſecure him, but to gratifie him for publiſhing what they were ſo willing ſhould be known: And if this thing was done in the Houſe of Lords, (as the *Memorandum* ſays) and where ſo great a Concourſe was, and a Matter fit to be known, was offered the King, *(viz.)* the ſight of his Father's Book wherein were the Corrections and Alterations written with the King's own hand, it's probable it was ſhown to ſome of the Nobles, who alſo might hear the Diſcourſe, and yet it was not ſpoken or dreamt of until this *Memorandum* was by chance opened ſome Years after. *Anno* 1675

Laſtly, I ſhall believe, unleſs the ſight of that Book convince me of the contrary, that it was wholly written with his Majeſty's own hand, as well as the Corrections, becauſe I have the Teſtimonies of many competent Witneſſes to induce me ſo to believe, *viz.* Mr. *Levet*, Mr. *Herbert*, Major *Huntington*, and that Captain who was converted by it, when the King was even ready to die on his Croſs. Nor can I believe that the Noble Earl did write that *Memorandum*, as we have it; there are many in *London* can counterfeit any Man's Writing: We know how his Majeſty was abuſed by counterfeiting his Broad-Seal; but neither doth the *Memorandum* ſay, That the Book was not of the King's Writing, only that the Corrections were, which excludes not the other; and though that particular Book were not, yet one there was written wholly by the King, as is irrefragably proved. I deſire the Reader therefore to take notice, that I reflect not on the Earl's hand, for which we have no Proof, and becauſe we hear not of any thing ſpoken or done by the Earl to Undeceive the People in that Point, which if he had been willing to do, he could never have a better opportunity than then when the King, the Duke, and as we may believe, a great number of the Lords, the higheſt Judicature of the Nation were in the

Houſe; then, I ſay, was the fitteſt time (if the Earl had been as willing to Undeceive the Nation, as the King and Duke were,) and the faireſt opportunity to do it, by ſhewing them the Book, many of the Lords then preſent knowing the King's Hand, and not to leave it in a void Leaf of a Twelve-peny Book, left undiſcovered to the day of his death: I may alſo preſume that that Learned Earl (who was as great a Lover of Truth as of Books,) having ſuch a Book ſometime (how long I know not,) in his hands, would either before or after it had been ſhewn to the King and Duke, have compared the Print with the Copy; and then if he had found any conſiderable Alterations, he would have mentioned them in his *Memorandum*, as the Ground of being undeceived himſelf, and a farther Means to Undeceive the Nation. And thus much for the *Memorandum*, which I think never did Undeceive any except Dr. *Walker*.

P. 6 and 7. Dr. *Walker* affirms, *That Dr.* Gauden *had taken the Covenant*; If this be true, I ſee no cauſe why he ſhould have a Promiſe of the beſt Biſhoprick in *England*, though he might be preferred to that of *Exeter* for other good Services which he did after he became a Convert, and wrote againſt the Covenant; for when Dr. *Reynolds* that had taken the Covenant, and as ſome ſay the Engagement, was preferred to *Norwich*, which is much better than *Exeter*, and other Biſhopricks were offered to others that were leſs deſerving. And, *p.* 129. of his *Anti-Baal Berith*, he calls God to witneſs, that *Exeter* was granted him by the King's Favour, and the general Deſire of the City and Dioceſs of *Exeter*, without any his own or others ambitious procuring or ſolliciting in his behalf, I cannot perſwade myſelf, that if Bp. *Duppa* and thoſe other great Men to whom the diſpoſe of the Biſhopricks was committed, had known that Dr. *Gauden* had written the King's Book, would have ſet him below Dr. *Reynolds*, and divers others that had done leſs Service, if there had been no other reaſon for it but to engage him to Silence in ſo important a Secret.

But what if Dr. *Walker* do ſlander his Patron Dr. *Gauden*, and it ſhould appear that he never did take the Covenant, no not in any ſence? I have ſo much Deference to the Worth of that Biſhop, as well as Gratitude, as he was my Patron, that I ſhall propoſe the Reaſons why I think Dr. *Walker* hath injured him in this particular; and if it appear to the Reader that Dr. *Walker* is injurious in this, he will be induced to believe, that he is not to be credited in his

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other Relation, *viz. That Dr.* Gauden *told him, that he wrote the King's Book.* P. 275. of the *Anti-Baal,* The ſame Objection was made and anſwered as followeth: *For Dr.* Gauden's *making one of the Number of his Covenanters, as Mr.* Crofton *reckoneth without his Hoſt. To ſatisfie Mr.* Crofton *and the Libeller's Curioſity, who go by Hearſay, Dr.* Gauden *aſſures the World, That he never took any Oaths but thoſe appointed by the Law, no Proteſtation nor Engagement, no League, Vow, or Negative Oath; and for this Covenant he offered freely to ſome principle Authors of it, his many juſt Scruples and Objections againſt it, both as to its Matter and Authority: He had ſome of their Anſwers under their Hands, agreeable to that Sence his Charity was, and is willing to interpret the meaning of the Covenant, to reform, not ruine Epiſcopacy; then he declared publickly his Judgment for Biſhops and Epiſcopacy, to be ſuch as now it is, That he neither could, nor ever would aſſent to the Covenant in any Sence, but ſuch as was in his Freedom to refuſe, and conſiſtent with his former Oaths, the Laws of the Land, and the Preſervation of Epiſcopal Government in its juſt Rights and Enjoyments, in Piety, Loyalty, and in thoſe Duties of Equity and Charity, which he owed to God and Man. Further than this, Dr.* Gauden *never approved nor owned the Covenant, nor ever ſhall any part of it: How good ſoever it ſhall ſeem in ſome things and Expreſſions, yet an evil Sence muſt not be covered under good Words, nor any Godly Expreſſions be afterwards wreſted to abet Ungodly Actions; the whole Maſs of the Covenant ſeemed to be ſweetned by thoſe general Salves and Reſtrictions put into it,* Of having Regard in all things to the Word of GOD, to the Duties of Mens Places and Callings, and to the Power of Godlineſs. *Let Mr.* Crofton *keep to theſe, and ſo keep his Covenant, for ſurely theſe can bind no Man to any thing injurious to any honeſt Man, or honeſt Office in Church or State. Of Dr.* Gauden's *free and publick Declaration of his Judgment as to the Covenant in general and particular, Hundreds beſides God and his own Conſcience, are Witneſſes; and if ſuch a Declaration of his Sence, what ought to be the meaning of it in Conſcience and Honeſty, will add any ſtrength to Mr.* Crofton's *Sence of it, or the Deſign of making it Sacred not Sacrilegious, much good do them: I believe they will ſooner be drawn to Dr.* Gauden's, *for her Epiſcopacy, than to their Presbyterian Exorbitancy, which he ever openly abhorred, and never ſecretly complied with; if he had, it had been as much againſt his Conſcience as againſt Reaſon, Law, Juſtice, Charity, and Religion; and he muſt have had no Peace till he had publickly repented, and recanted ſuch Diſſimulation, which he abhors as Hell.*

That Dr. Gauden *had taken the Covenant.*

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Now though some Men might expect that the Doctor should have positively declared, that he never took the Covenant, and think these large Circumlocutions to be but an Evasion, and raising of Dust to blind Mens eyes, let the Reader reflect, That in the first place he writes this to *assure the World* that he never took any Oaths but those appointed by Law, which he expresly denyeth the Covenant to have been: And the Doctor knew that Oaths are generally to be taken in the usual sence of the words in which it is penned, and according to the meaning of those who impose it. 2*ly*, That he expresly mentioneth any Engagement, League, or Vow, under which Terms the Covenant must be comprehended. 3*ly*, That he declared publickly his Judgment for Bishops and Episcopacy, as by Law was established in *England*, *p.* 277. which the Covenant diametrically opposed. 4*ly*, That he never would nor could assent to the Covenant in any Sence, but such as was consistent with his former Oaths, the Laws of the Land, and Preservation of Episcopal Government in its just Rights and Enjoyments, *&c.* all which the taking of the Covenant directly opposed. 5*ly*, That his Compliance with the Presbyterian Exorbitance would have been such a Dissimulation as he abhorred as Hell. And after all this published to assure the World against that Objection, *viz. That he was one of the Number of Covenanters*; which he says Mr. *Crofton* reckoned him without his Host. I should think it a very strong Argument (that though he should have told Dr. *Walker* that he wrote the King's Book,) he were not to be believed being *Testis sibi inconsistens.*

If there be any Faith or Honesty in Men, these Reasons which Dr. *Gauden* gives may satisfie the Reader that he never took the Covenant, for Page 178, he declares, *That if the Parliament had been full, they had not any power to make, take, or impose any Oath contrary to the Laws of* England, *which they were entrusted to observe, not to break, abrogate, or change without the K.'s Consent.* And in the same Page he saith, *He is confident he doth those Men no Injury, who were the chief Engines and Charioteers, to say, they did all things more out of Polity than Piety; and by this Covenant they intended the advance of a Party, not of the Publick Interest, and our Laws,* Ad quas evertendas nemo sobrius accessit: Which he thus *Englisheth, To the Subversion of which by popular Combinations and Covenantings without the Prince's or Supream Power's Consent, no Man comes but drunk with Pride, or Passion, Ambition, Covetousness, or Superstition.* And in *p.* 279. he says, *It is Per-*

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jury to take a falſe and unjuſt Oath, as well as to break a true and lawful Oath. Now who will believe Dr. *Walker*, ſo as to think Dr. *Gauden* to be guilty of all theſe horrid Crimes, which he condemns in others. In Page the 69th, he ſays, *That in the intended Sence it was execrable, and that every ſuch Covenanter muſt be ſo to GOD and Man— notwithſtanding the remaining Lords and Commons in the two Houſes, and the* Scottiſh *Commiſſioners, and the Aſſembly* (all Sacred no doubt,) *did take the Covenant,* Sept. 11th, 1643: Which he ſcoffs at in *p.* 70, and in *p.* 71. he declares what he means by the words Oath, Vow, and League, ſaying, That *no Vow, Oath, League, or Sacred Covenant can bind contrary to our Duty to God, the King, the Country, the Church and Laws under which we live.* In *p.* 80. That *the Authority impoſing it was not Legal.* And in *p.* 81. *That ſuch Vows bind to nothing but the breaking of them.* And in *p.* 111. *That we read not of any Covenant ever ſo impoſed, or taken by any Subjects without or againſt the Conſent of their Soveraign's Power; but it proved a bloody Iſſue, hardly cured with a Miracle, and that after the Effuſion of much Civil Blood.* *P.* 184. He tells his Reader how the Covenant was blaſted by the *Oxford* Reaſons. And *p.* 185. *That this Combination againſt Epiſcopacy without doubt firſt damnified and deſtroyed the former King: Of which* (ſaith he) *I have greater grounds than it is fit to tell all the World.* That it was contrary to the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Canonical Obedience, he proves at large, *p.* 189, 195, 197.

Now what a Monſter of Men muſt he be, that knowing all theſe things before, ſhould take ſuch a Covenant in any ſence whatſoever, or having taken it, ſhould expect ſo great a Preferment as the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*? Here then we have Dr. *W.* brought to this Dilemma, If Dr. *Gauden* did take the Covenant, he was guilty of all that he condemned in others, (*ut ſupra*;) and then that Argument which Dr. *Walker* urged to his Tutor, whereby he ſays he could have ſilenced him, *viz.* *That Dr.* Gauden *wrote the Chapter againſt the Covenant, becauſe he ſpake ſo much in favour of it*; is very weak: And if he wrote not that, then probably no other of that Book. And if he did not take it, (as I am in Charity convinc'd he did not,) how Criminal was Dr. *Walker* to publiſh to the World, to the Defamation of his good Patron, that communicated his Secrets to him, that he was ſo vile a Man as to make himſelf guilty of all thoſe horrid Crimes abovementioned: and then alſo it is very probable, that he that durſt raiſe ſo evil a Report of Dr. *Gauden* as

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to the Covenant, might presume to fix this Phantome of his own on the Doctor, *That the Doctor told him, that he made the K.'s Book.* And whether Dr. *Gauden* did affirm it to Dr. *Walker*, or Dr. *Walker* misreported Dr. *Gauden*, both these Testimonies are very infirm, and cannot stand against the opposite Reasons and Authorities.

P. 32. Dr. *Walker* answers to four things objected by Sir *W. Dugdale*, *The most material*, he saith, *is concerning Major* Huntington, *from whose mouth, he says he will in the Faith of a Christian declare, without diminution or wresting of it*, (which he says was this,) *p.* 33. *When that Book was published, and so confidently reported to be the King's, then surely, or I believe* (here something is wanting, or his hand trembled,) *these are the Papers I see him so usually take out of his Cabinet; but this was but my Conjecture, and I never declared it to be otherwise, for I assure you, I never read one Line or Word of the Papers in the King's hand; and I cannot say there was one Passage in these Papers which is this printed Book, for how should I never having look'd into them.* This Account of Major *Huntington* he says he faithfully relates as in the sight of God.

Now if Dr. *Walker* be proved by several Witnesses of good Credit, to have reported a Relation greatly different from that which the Major gave to several Friends and Relations at several times, concerning the Matter in question: I suppose the agreeing Testimony of several such competent Witnesses, will greatly invalidate Dr. *Walker*'s Relation; and if the Reader shall be convinced that Dr. *Walker* hath misreported Major *Huntington*'s Testimony, it may be a Prejudice to his Report of Dr. *Gauden*'s: Now first Dr. *Walker* confesseth, *p.* 32. 'That he often heard Major *Huntington*'s Testi-'mony to be this, *That whilst he attended his Majesty, or had the guarding of him, he saw the King frequently take these Papers out of his Cabinet, and sometimes read them, sometimes wrote more; and that when he saw the Book, he declared, Those Chapters in it were those very Papers he had so seen.* Which two Relations are contradictory. Now it is very probable, that what Dr. *Walker* affirms he so often heard alledged as Major *Huntington*'s Testimony, might come to the Major's ears in his Life-time, and had he disliked it, would have contradicted it to such Friends as inquired the Truth of that Business, whose Testimonies I shall now set down; And first, the Testimony of the Learned Dr. *Robert Hall*, Son of the Famous *Joseph Hall*, Bishop of *Exeter*, who was Treasurer of the Church of St. *Peter*'s *Exon*, to whom the Major was near related by his Marriage, and with whom he

he ſojourn'd ſometime at *Cliſt-hidon*, the Doctor's Benefice: this Reverend Dr. *Hall* hath told me and others, 'That Major *Huntington* 'waiting on his Majeſty at *Holmeby*, aſſured him, that he had ſeen 'the King writing ſome of thoſe Papers, which the Major had op-'portunity to read, and knew that ſuch as he did then read, were 'the ſame as are now printed. To this of Dr. *Hall*, I add that of *Richard Duke*, Eſq; and Juſtice of the Peace in *Devon*, who lately declared to me and another Judicious Divine, 'That he heard the 'Major affirm the ſame, almoſt in the ſame words.

And Sir *Will. Courtney*, a Perſon of great Honour, (as I am credibly informed) when this Relation was read or told to him, as Dr. *W.* reported it, was pleaſed immediately to ſay, 'That he well 'knew the Major, and had heard him aver the like Report as Mr. '*Duke* and others have declared.

Theſe Evidences confirm what Dr. *Hollingworth* relates, *p.* 21. of his Defence, *That a Non-conforming Miniſter told him*, (viz.) *That Major* Huntington *told him with his own mouth, That he procured ſome Papers that made up part of this Royal Book from the hands of* Fairfax *the Parliament General, which were taken after* Nazby *Fight, and kept by the Lord* Fairfax; *and that afterward the ſaid Major preſented them to the King with his own hand.* Dr. *Hollingworth* adds, *I ſpare the Man's Name for particular Reaſons; but if I am called to do it, I will depoſe the Truth of his Saying ſo upon Oath.* But I hope the Teſtimonies now following will prevent that labour; the firſt is that of the Reverend Mr. *Will. Read*, Archdeacon of *Barnſtable*, in theſe words: 'I do 'hereby Certifie, That I dining with Bp. *Lamphugh* at his Palace 'in *Exon*, ſome Years ſince, there happning ſome diſcourſe concern-'ing K. *Charles* the Firſt his Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, and ſome ſaid there was 'a Doubt made, Whether the ſaid King were the Author of the 'ſaid Book or no? I told the Company, then at the Table, That 'I had heard from ſeveral Perſons of good Credit, many Years a-'go, that one Major *Huntington* did affirm, That after *Nazby* Fight 'he took that King's Cabinet, wherein ſeveral Meditations of the 'ſaid Book were, written with his own hand; and that he after-'wards delivered them into the King's own hands, which he re-'ceived with very much Joy, and gave him many Thanks for re-'ſtoring them to him. And I do farther Certifie, That one *Rich.* '*Duke*, of *Otterton*, in the County of *Devon*, Eſquire, being then at 'the Biſhop's Table, did poſitively affirm, That what I had repor-'ted concerning Major *Huntington* was true, he knowing well the

'ſaid Major, and having heard him with his own mouth affirming 'to him, that what I have above ſet down was true: In witneſs 'whereof I have hereunto ſet my Hand this 18th day of *July*, *A.* 'D. 1692. *Will. Reade*, Archdeacon of *Barum*.

This is confirmed by that of Mr. *Cave Beck*, p. 27. of Dr. *Hollingworth*'s *Character of* Charles *the First*, in theſe words: 'That 'ſome Years after the King's Tryal, Major *Huntington* at *Ipſwich* aſ- 'ſured me, That ſo much of his Majeſty's Book as contained his 'Meditations before *Nazby* Fight, was taken in the King's Cabinet, 'and that Sir *T. Fairfax* delivered the ſaid Papers unto him, and 'ordered him to carry them to the King: And the Major affirm- 'ed, that he read them over before he delivered them, and that 'they were the ſame for Matter and Form with thoſe Meditations 'in the printed Book, and that he was much affected with them, 'and from that time became a Proſelite to the Royal Cauſe. He 'alſo told me, That when he delivered them to the King, his Ma- 'jeſty appeared very joyful, and ſaid, *He eſteemed them more than all* 'the Jewels he had loſt in the Cabinet.

P. 10. of Dr. *H.*'s *Defence*, he repeats this Paſſage, 'That Dr. '*Meriton* dining with Sir *T. Pilkington*, the late Lord-Mayor, he hap- 'ned to meet with Dr. *Walker* at that Table, where Dr. *Walker* with 'his uſual Confidence aſſerted Dr. *Gauden* to be the Author of the 'King's Book: On which Dr. *Meriton* turned upon him with the 'Story of Mr. *Simmonds*'s communicating the whole buſineſs to Dr. 'Gauden. Upon which he was ſo confounded that he had nothing to ſay for himſelf; which being ſeconded by Mr. *Marriot*, then Chaplain to the Lord-Mayor, who heard the whole Diſcourſe, and withal the Silence that he put Dr. *Walker* to; Dr. *Hollingworth* ventured to give the World an account of it in Print, 'This, ſaith 'Dr. *Hollingworth*, p. 5. of the Character of *Charles* the Firſt, is ſo 'true, and will upon juſt occaſion be atteſted by others as well as 'myſelf, that I do here in the face of the World, challenge Dr. *Me*- 'riton or Mr. *Marriot* to deny one Syllable of the Subſtance of it, 'either as to the one in telling his Succeſs in the Diſpute, or the o- 'ther juſtifying it as really true.

In *p.* 11 of Dr. *H.*'s *Defence*, he ſays, 'That Mrs. *Simmonds* being 'askt by him, How far her Husband was concerned in the King's 'Book? And what ſhe knew of it? She anſwered, That going in- 'to her Husband's Study, ſhe ſaw on the Table a Book in Writing, 'which ſhe knew not to be her Husband's Writing, ſhe asked him 'whoſe

'whoſe it was; which he turning her off with bidding her mind 'her own buſineſs, ſhe deſiſted from further Enquiry. The King's 'Murder following quickly after, ſhe told me her Husband never 'joyed himſelf, but fell ſick, and died the 29th of *March* follow-'ing; and throughout his whole Sickneſs he declared the Book was 'the King's Book. And *p.* 26. Dr. *Hollingworth* ſays, 'That Mrs. '*Simmonds* dining ſome Years ſince at a Citizen's Houſe who a-'ſperſed K. *Charles* the Firſt, he told her, If ſhe would confeſs the 'Truth, that her Husband made the Book, there were ſome hun-'dred of Pounds at her Service. She knowing her Husband's Ho-'neſty in his Death-bed Aſſertions, ſcorned, and told him, She was 'not to be bribed by never ſo much to ſo great a Lie.

I have alſo an Authentick Teſtimony communicated to me by Dr. *Charles Goodall*, 'That Dr. *Walker* had often waited on his Grace 'the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and was wont to ask his Grace, 'Whether he deſired to be informed concerning the true Author 'of the Εἰκὼν Βατιλικὴ? affirming, that not the King but Dr. *Gau-'den* was the Author of it: adding this as a Reaſon, That Dr. *Gau-'den* had a Copy before it was publiſhed. This only Argument 'he alledged to his Grace; but as for all thoſe other Aſſertions 'which are ſince vented in his Book, Dr. *Walker* at no time made 'uſe of them to confirm what he had delivered. Further, my 'Lord told me, That Mr. *Levet*, the Author of the Letter printed 'in *Reſtittuion to the Royal Author*, had often, and many Years ſuc-'ceſſively waited on him, and entring into diſcourſe on this mat-'ter, did as often conſtantly aver, (as related in the printed Let-'ter,) That he waiting on his Majeſty in Priſon, had ſeen the ſe-'veral Sheets of the Book written with the King's own hand, and 'interlined by him.

To this I ſhall joyn the Teſtimony of another Archbiſhop, late-ly ſent in a Sermon preached in *Dublin* by the R. R. *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *Meath*, at the Funeral of *James Margetſon*, D. D. Archbi-ſhop of *Armagh*, which was printed at *London* for *Nath. Ranew*, at the King's Arms in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, 1679. in the 28th Page of that Book, the Biſhop of *Meath* tells us the following Paſſage was atteſted by the Archbiſhop, whoſe Words by all that knew him, paſt as unqueſtionable, *(viz.)* 'That the Archbiſh. being in *London* 'after the Death of the Royal Martyr, did adminiſter the laſt Of-'fices of the Church to a Gentleman on his Death-bed, (whoſe 'Name he mentions not) but ſays, *That a dying Perſon told him, that*

he had been one ſometimes near in Attendance on that Sacred Martyr in his Solitude, and that to him were committed by the King theſe Papers, which he ſaid he knew to have been written by the King's own hand, and which were after publiſhed with the Title of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. Which the Biſhop of *Meath* obſerved for obviating malicious Speeches detracting from that excellent Work breathing Piety and Devotion, and vindicating the Sincerity of that Great Soul in all his Actings and Occurrencies therein mentioned; Malice ſuggeſting to the World that although that Work carried the King's Name, yet it was not his own, but compoſed by ſome of his Chaplains; intending thereby to leſſen his Majeſty's great and excellent Parts, and to render that moſt excellent Piece leſs regarded, and their own Wickedneſs leſs obſerved. *By this Teſtimony* (ſaith the Biſhop of *Meath,*) *that falſe Aſſertion appears, and the Royal Author of that precious Work found to be the King himſelf, it being declared by ſuch a Perſon dying, and ſo could hope for no Advantage by it.* This Sermon was printed about thirteen Years ſince.

To theſe may be added the Teſtimony of the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, who was often heard to affirm, *That after the Fight at* Naſby, *the King being much troubled for the loſs of his Papers taken in his Cabinet, commanded him to endeavour the Recovery of them, which he did to the King's great Satisfaction.*

And that of Col. *Hammond* who was the King's Keeper in the *Iſle of Wight*, who atteſted, *That he ſaw thoſe Papers in the King's hand, heard him reading them, and ſaw him correcting them.* As Dr. *Perinſheiff* in the Life of *Charles* the Firſt, *p.* 95.

To theſe may be added that of Dr. *Dillingham*, p. 22. of Dr. *Holling.*'s *Defence*, 'That he waiting on the King after that he was 'ſeized by the Army, ſaw and read in the King's Bed-Chamber a 'whole Chapter of the King's Book freſh written with his own 'hand, in the Year 1647.

Dr. *Fowler*'s Teſtimony, the preſent Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, is another Confirmation, *p.* 23. of Dr. *H.*'s *Defence, (viz.)* 'That Mrs. 'Keightly of *Albrohatch*, in *Barking* Pariſh, in *Eſſex*, gave him this 'Account about twenty eight Years ſince, *That ſhe had a Servant who was made a Parliament Captain, and a little before the King's death, told her he had laid down his Commiſſion; and ſhe asking him the reaſon, he replyed, That whereas he had been told, that the King was a very bad Man, he was now abundantly aſſured that he is an excellent good Man. And being askt what induced him to judge ſo; told her, That he*

was

was appointed to ſtand every Morning at his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber-door, when he was a Priſoner in the Iſle of Wight, *obſerving for ſeveral days, that the King went into his Cloſet quickly after he was dreſſed, and there ſtayed a conſiderable time, and then went down into the Garden; and perceiving that he left the Key in the Cloſet-door, he adventured to go in, and found that he had been penning moſt devout and pious Meditations and Prayers, which he fell to reading, till he ſaw the King return to the Walk that lead to his Chamber: And thus the Captain did for ſeveral Mornings, and read the King's Morning-works, till he came to a Reſolution no longer to be ſuch a Prince's Jaylor.* 'Mrs. *Keighley* told 'me further, *That he gave ſuch an account of thoſe Meditations and Prayers, that ſhe was confident they were printed in* Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, *after ſhe came to read that Book.* 'This Mrs. *Keighly* was a very Religious 'and Pious Gentlewoman, and as Diſcreet and Prudent. This I 'atteſt, *Edward Fowler*, D. D. *June* 25th, 1691.

Now let the Reader judge, who are likely to declare *in the Faith of a Chriſtian*, what they had from the mouth of Major *Huntington*, whether the talkative Dr. *Walker*, who is *Singularis Teſtis*, or thoſe many Perſons of great Note whoſe agreeing Teſtimonies I have produced.

P. 34. he anſwers Mr. *William Levet*'s Teſtimony, which ſays, 'That he could depoſe, that the Book was his, *(i. e.)* the King's 'own, having oftentimes obſerved his Majeſty writing his Royal 'Reſentments of the Bold and Inſolent Behaviour of the Souldiers 'that had him in their Cuſtody; and that he had the Happineſs 'oftentimes to read the ſame in Manuſcript, under his Majeſty's 'own hand, he being pleaſed to leave the ſame in the Window of 'his Bed-chamber.

Dr. *Walker*'s Anſwer is, *That there is no ſuch Chapter in all that Book.*

Reply. Neither did Mr. *Levet* affirm there was; but he that ſhall read the 23d Chapter of the *Scots* delivering him up to the *Engliſh*, and his Captivity at *Holmeby*; and Chap. 26. of the Army's ſurpriſing him at *Holmeby*, and in the following Chapters, he may find too much both of the Inſolency of his Rebellious Subjects, and the Barbarous Demeanor of the Souldiers, from whom he feared Aſſaſſination. Dr. *Walker* grants that Mr. *Levet* might read it in the *Iſle of Wight*, but will not believe it was the King's writing, unleſs it be underſtood of the Corrections only, which he ſuppoſeth the King made in the Book ſent by Dr. *Gauden*, or elſe that his

his Majesty had transcribed it. But Mr. *Levet* saith he often read it in Manuscript, under the King's own hand; and what a strange Fancy is it of Dr. *Walker*, that the King in that Hurry of Business should transcribe so large a Book with his hand, when he had so little time to dispatch more urgent Affairs.

Mr. *Levet*'s Testimony is as follows, *p.* 8 and 9. of Dr. *Holling.*'s Character of K. *Charles* the First, *If any one desire to know the true Author of a Book intituled,* Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, *I, one of the Servants of K.* Charles *the First's, in his Bed-Chamber, do declare, That when his Majesty was a Prisoner in the* Isle of Wight, *that I read over the said Book, which was long before the Book was printed, in his Bed-Chamber, writ with his Majesty's own hand, with several Interlinings. Moreover, his Majesty,* Charles *the First, told me,* Sure *Levet,* you do design to get this Book by heart; *(having often seen me reading of it.) I can testifie also, That* Royston *the Printer, told me, that he was imprisoned by* O. Cromwell, *because he would not declare, that King* Charles *the First was not the Author of the said Book.* Sign'd and Seal'd *Octob.* 16th, 1690.

To which add this Testimony, *I* Robert Herne, *formerly Servant to Sir* Philip Warwick, *do attest, That I have often heard Sir* Philip Warwick, *as also Mr.* Odert, *and Mr.* Whitaker, *declare, That they had transcribed Copies of the King's Book written with his own hand. Witness my hand,* Robert Herne.

Sect. 6. p. 34. Dr. *Walker* gives the Reasons for publishing his Book, *p.* 34 and 35. 1st, *It was imposed on him by Dr.* H. *for his own Vindication, and to wipe off a false Accusation, That he was guilty of a false Story by a free owning of what he forced me to write.* And *p.* 35. says, *It was wrung and wrested from him by some Body's impertinent Affectation to meddle with what he understands not.*

Ans. It was was no impertinent Employment for any Member of that Church which honoureth that King as their Royal Martyr, to undertake the necessary Vindication of his being Author of that Book, which as Dr. *W.* observes, did render the Murther of so good a King to be more abhorred. 2. Did awaken many to Repentance, who had contributed to it. 3. Did dispose the Nation to recal the Royal Family, and many more good Effects; which if the Nation were imposed on, and it should pass as Dr. *Walker* would have it, that Dr. *Gauden* was the Author of it, would be accounted as a Sham, not only to the Infamy of Dr. *Gauden,* the Contriver, and Dr. *Walker* the Concealer, but to the Diminution of the King's deserved

deſerved Honour, and revive their old Calumnies of covering foul Deeds with fair Pretences.

And as for Dr. *Walker*'s Negative Reaſons in *p.* 35. 'That he in-'tended not by this Diſcovery to rob that excellent King of any 'Honour properly due to him, will appear to be no Reaſons, nor will the Station in which he then was, *(viz.)* A Chaplain at *Warwick*-Houſe, perſwade the Reader to believe, that no Man of his Rank loved the King better, honoured him more while he lived, or more abhorred his Murder, bewayled his Death, giving more open Teſtimony againſt it, or ſuſtaining greater Loſs for ſo doing.

2. Dr. *Walker* gives us his Poſitive Reaſons drawn from two ſignal Providences, the one ſerving as an Apology why he did not reveal this Secret ſooner, and the other why he did it now: It much amuſeth me, that a Doctor of Divinity ſhould make Providence a Party with himſelf, to croſs itſelf, and juſtifie two ſuch contrary Ends, and declare, *That whatever others may think, he judgeth it a ſign that God would have that which he calls a pious Fraud, an officious Lie, a talking deceitfully for Man, to the maintaing of which he thinks he contributed by his Silence, and for which he was perſwaded by many cogent Reaſons, that God was not well pleaſed with Dr.* Gauden, *himſelf, and others.* And then for *what Reaſon he knows not*, p. 35. as he confeſſeth, but only thinks that Providence may have other Reaſons now to ſerve, by ſuffering this Diſcovery to be wreſted and wrung from him by ſome Body's impertinent Affectation to meddle in what they underſtood not.

The ſence of which is this: God's Providence in recovering the King's Paper's, (which *Arwaker* had ſeized (as in *p.* 30, 31. he ſhews in a large Harangue,) and ſuffering them to be printed, was Dr. *W.*'s Reaſon why he did for about forty three Years conceal an Impoſture put on the whole Nation, ſuch as was a Trouble to his Conſcience, and diſpleaſing to God: And the ſame Providence by ſuffering Dr. *Hollingworth* to wring and wreſt from him this Diſcovery, (which if his Conſcience had been really grieved for concealing it, he ſhould have revealed freely and meekly as a Penitent,) ſhould force him afterward to publiſh to ſalve his own Reputation.

Dr. *Walker* p. 31. mentions another ſignal Providence for his Diſcovery, *viz.* The Earl of *Angleſey*'s *Memorandum*, found in a void Leaf of the King's Book, which if it had not been caſually opened by Mr. *Millington*, but fallen into ſome hand that either might not regard it, or would have concealed it, then Dr. *Hollingworth* would

not

not ſo unſeaſonably have provoked Dr. *Walker*, and Dr. *Walker* would have been as ſilent as Providence in this matter.

To ſhut up this Part, If all thoſe Imperfections which may Invalidate an Evidence, do meet in this of Dr. *Walker*'s, and there are the joynt Teſtimonies of ſeveral Unexceptionable Perſons againſt his Evidence, the Caſe may eaſily be determin'd: Firſt then, Dr. *Walk.*'s Evidence is but the ſingle Teſtimony of what hé heard from Dr. *Gauden*; and *Maſcard* in his 1361 Concluſion *de Probationibus* ſays, *Teſtis unicus de Auditis nil probat*; and in his 1360 Concluſion, N. 5. *Teſtis unicus ut faciat ſemiplenum probationem debet eſſe omni exceptione major.* Which they that conſider the Premiſes will hardly believe of Dr. *Walker.*

2. A Witneſs that depoſeth things very unlikely, doth not prove them becauſe *veri ſimilitudine* is the ground of Truth; ſo Concluſ. 1364. *Teſtis non veri ſimilia deponens non probat*; and, *Teſtimonii fundamentum eſt fides.*

3. Becauſe the King's Book had paſt for his own above forty Years, and *ad reprobandum inſtrumentum Teſtes omni exceptione majores requiruntur.* Concluſ. 1360. N. 3.

4. He that producing another to confirm what he had witneſſed, and finds his Fellow-witneſs to affirm what he denied, or deny what he affirmed, rendreth his Evidence ſuſpected; this the Doctor hath often done, particularly in Major *Hnntington*'s Evidence produced for him. *Concluſ.* 1368.

5. A Witneſs that without a Call offers himſelf to give Teſtimony, as Dr. *Walker* did to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and in ſeveral Companies, is not approved by *Concluſ.* 1358. Nor he that proſecutes his Teſtimony with Eagerneſs and Animoſity, for, *Animoſe deponens ſuſpectus redditur.* Concluſ. 1368.

Teſtis ſibi contrarius non probat: D. *W.* hath not only varied in his Teſtimony by increaſing his Evidence, but often contradicting of it.

So that we may conclude with that Great Civilian, That Dr. *Walker*'s Teſtimony ought not to prevail againſt the Teſtimony of ſo many competent Witneſſes, becauſe he labours under ſo many Defects.

The Reſult of what I have written will be this: That Dr. *Walker*'s ſingle and incoherent Evidence of what he pretends to have heard from Dr. *Gauden*, cannot deſerve any Credit againſt the Teſtimonies of ſo many Authentick Witneſſes of the Matter of Fact, as have given their Evidence for the King's being Author of the

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, nor conſequently of what he pretends he had from Major *Huntington*, 1. Major *Huntington*. 2. Dr. *Dillingham*. 3. Mr. *Herbert*. 4. Mr. *Levet*. 5. Sir *John Brattle*. 6. Mr. *Whittaker*. 7. Mr. *Gifford*. 8. Mr. *Clifford*. 9. Mr. *Royſton*. 10. Mr. *Simmonds* and his Wife. 11. Mr. *Robert Hearne*. 12. Mrs. *Gauden*. 13. Mr. *Odert*. 14. Dr. *Jer. Taylor*. 15. Dr. *Earle*. 16. Two Arch-biſhops of *Armagh*. 17. Sir *William Dugdale*. 18. Mr. *Milbourne*. 19. Mrs. *Keileg h*, produced by the Biſhop of *Gloceſter*; beſides thoſe collateral Witneſſes that corroborate their Teſtimonies: And I ſuppoſe the ſingle Evidence of one of theſe may out-weigh that of Dr. *Walker*, how much more the Verdict of ſo many Worthy and Reverend Perſons, in the Judgment of any Perſon, but ſuch as with *Ludlow*, have the Guilt of that Royal Blood crying for Vengeance againſt them, and will not be convinced that Regicide is a Sin? And though he be the only Survivor of that Barbarous Crew, and hath eſcaped the Juſtice of Men, and glorieth in his Impenitency, ſhall receive the greater Condemnation, for the Royal Martyr's Sentence is moſt certain, *That the ſevereſt Vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when Men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked Purpoſes.* See his Meditations on Death.

If Dr. *Walker* who profeſt ſo much Love to the Royal Martyr for his Wiſdom and Piety, a Member of that Church for the Preſervation of which in purſuance of his pious Reſolution to defend it or make it his Tomb-ſtone, the King ſacrificed his Life, hath ſo ſhameleſly martyr'd him a ſecond time in his Effigies or Portraicture, what wonder is it if his profeſſed Enemies that hated him as a King, to divide his Inheritance among them, ſhould perpetuate their immortal Hatred againſt him, in hope to regain that part of his and the Church's Inheritance which by the Hire of their Rebellion, they had ſacrilegiouſly purchaſed. And if the confident Reports of Dr. *Walker* be found ſo faulty, how incredible is it that the late Libels written under the Name of *Ludlow*, a Regicide, ſhould have ſo much appearance of Truth or ſhadow of Honeſty as to deſerve any other Confutation, than what was long ſince due to their Authors: Sure I am a few ſuch Accountants as the Doctor and *Ludlow* would ſoon make the Kingdom become Bankrupt.

Dr. *WALKER*'s

True, Modeſt, and Faithful

ACCOUNT

OF THE

AUTHOR of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ,

Strictly Examined, and Demonſtrated

TO BE

Falſe, Impudent, and Deceitful.

The Second PART.

NOW ſuppoſe all that hath hitherto been ſpoken to prove that the King, and not Dr. *Gauden* was the Author of the Book, be laid aſide, and taken as *non dictum*, yet I ſuppoſe what may be produced, 1*ſt*, From conſideration of the K.'s Abilities to write ſuch a Book. 2*ly*, From his Declaration, that he deſign'd to write it. 3*ly*, From his Teſtimony that he had done it. 4*ly*, From the Characters which may be obſerved in that Book of the Royal Author, which appear as plain as his Image and Superſcription on his Coin, and do as naturally own each other, as the Ewe doth the Lamb, will abundantly convince

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the Reader that it was the King's, and not Dr. *Gauden*'s Work, for though he be dead, yet he ſpeaks very intelligibly to any that have had any knowledge of his Royal Eloquence: And this I ſhall prove, Firſt from his known Abilities to write ſuch a Book; that his Majeſty was from his Childhood devoted to his Studies, and being of a quick Apprehenſion, did lay up a great Stock of Humane and Divine Knowledge.

That you may not read the Teſtimonies of his Friends with Prejudice, I ſhall firſt ſhew you what Opinion his Adverſaries had of him, one of the moſt bitter I account *Cooke*, who ſolicited againſt him at his Tryal, who in his Apology for their Proceeding againſt him, *p.* 35. ſays, *He was well known to be a hard Student in his younger days: He had more Learning and dexterity in State-affairs undoubtedly, than all the Kings in* Chriſtendom; *and for his Parts, if they had been ſanctified, he was another* Soloman.

The ſecond Teſtimony is that of *Lilly*, who in his Diſcourſe of Monarchy, or no Monarchy, (whom I mention not as an Aſtrologer, but as a Man of Sence, that was an Obſerver of the Perſons and Actions of the Times,) he ſays, *That he had ſingular Skill in Limning and Pictures, a good Mathematician, not unskilful in Muſick, well read in Divinity, excellently in Hiſtory, and no leſs in the Laws and Statutes of the Nation, of a quick and ſharp Conception, would write his Mind ſingularly well, in good Language and Stile; he would apprehend a Difference between Parties with great Readineſs, and Methodize a long Matter in few Lines; inſomuch that I have heard Sir* Robert Holborn *oft ſay, He had a quicker Conception, and eaſier underſtood a Cauſe in Law, and with more Sharpneſs drove the Matter to a Head, than any of the Privy-Council; and when the King was not there, Sir* Robert *cared not to be there. He had alſo among other ſpecial Gifts, the Gift of Patience, ſo that he would hear out a long Diſcourſe without Interruption or Diſtaſte; he had a diſcerning Eye to judge of Men, and honoured the Vertuous; he was not at all given to Luxury, but extream temperate in his Food and Apparel; he would Argue Logically, and frame his Arguments Artificially,* &c.

For which I may give an Inſtance in his Diſcourſe with *Henderſon*, who hath at large declared his Judgment of the King, after his Diſputation with him, it is at large in the Character of *Charles* the Firſt, in Dr. *Hollingworth*, to this effect: *I do declare to God and the World, That ſince I had the Honour and Happineſs to Converſe and Conſult with his Majeſty, eſpecially in Matters of Religion, that I found him*

the most Intelligent Man that ever I spoke with, as far beyond my Expression as Expectation: I profess that I was oft-times astonished with the Quickness and Solidity of his Reasons and Replys, wondring how among his Sports and Recreations he attained so great Knowledge. I confess ingeniously, that I was convinc'd in Conscience, and know not how to give him any reasonable Satisfaction; yet the Sweetness of his Disposition is such, that whatever I said was well taken: I must say that I never met with any Disputant let be a King, and in Matters of so high Concernment, of that mild and calm Temper, which convinced me more to think that such Wisdom and Moderation could not be without extraordinary measure of Divine Grace. I had heard much of his Carriage toward the Priests in Spain, *and that K.* James *told the D. of* Buckingham, *That he durst venture his Son* Charles *against all the Jesuits, he knowing him to be so well grounded in the Protestant Religion; but could never believe it before I observed particularly his Devotion, which I must truly say was more than ordinary, and was observed by him before his Troubles; twice a Day constantly Morning and Evening for an Hour's space in private, twice a Day before Dinner and Supper in publick, besides Preachings twice on the* Sundays, *on* Tuesdays, *and other extraordinary Times. I dare say, that if his Advice had been followed, all the Blood that is shed, and all the Rapine committed, might have been prevented.*

The whole Confession of Mr. *Henderson*, is confirmed in few words by Mr. *Vines*, who heard him disputing a whole Day with fifteen Commissioners and Counsellors, and four Divines, especially concerning Church-Affairs, on the Propositions sent him, to their Conviction, who coming prejudiced against him as a Man of slender Parts, went away admiring how he became so Learned, and prevailed with their Masters, that his Concessions might be voted a Ground for a Treaty, which was voted to be with his Majesty's Honour, Safety, and Freedom; the Success whereof *Cromwell* feared, and foresaw, for he charged such of the Commissioners that he could best confide in, to be careful what Concessions they made, for he feared the King would be too subtle for them. But Mr. *Vines*, the most able of the Divines, repented of his being deluded to such unworthy Thoughts of the King, and gave him great Reverence, and persuaded others to do so, saying, *He was sorry the King was no better understood, for he thought him the best Divine of any Lay-man in* England. And the Dispute with *Henderson*, and this of the *Isle of Wight*, do sufficiently manifest his great Abilities and Vertues; which were such, that when a Dispute arose in favour of

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Cromwell, *Whether a King or no King?* *Henry Martyn* told the Houſe, *If we muſt have a King, we had rather have kept him*, (i. e.) *King* Charles, *than any Gentleman in the Nation.* And others ſaid, *If he had not been born to be a King, no Man deſerved it better.* So that by the Confeſſion of his Enemies, his greateſt Fault was, that he was born to be a King, and that God had anointed him above his Fellows.

Theſe great and good Qualities of his Majeſty made his Enemies ſo averſe from imbracing his often renewed Solicitations for Treaties of Peace, eſpecially when he deſired a Perſonal Treaty, for they could not but obſerve, how by ſtrength of Reaſon, and Meekneſs, and Piety of Converſation: He made Proſelites of ſuch as had the Happineſs to converſe with him, whoſe Prejudices and Prepoſſeſſions he quite extinguiſhed, and made them more real Friends than they had been Enemies.

Dr. *Gauden* his Letter to the Army on the behalf of the King, urgeth, *That the King was renowned by ſome of themſelves for the Greatneſs of his Underſtanding, and many other Princely Vertues and Incomparable Endowments.*

Here I might enquire, 1. How well Dr. *Gauden* was qualified for this Work. And, 2. At what time he may be ſuppoſed to have begun and finiſhed it, for he muſt be a Man of extraordinary Abilities, of great Experience, and diligent Inſpection into the Polity and Intrigues of the Times, and one that wrote Memorials of them while they were freſh in Memory, one that was deeply concerned in them, and after long and mature Deliberation, digeſted them: And who but the King was ſufficient for theſe things? Dr. *Gauden* probably might have heard, as many did, that the King had begun ſuch Meditations; and having ſuch an Opinion of his great Abilities, could not with any good Manners take the Work out of his hands. But ſuppoſe the Doctor had been competently qualified for ſuch a Work, what time might be allowed for compleating of ſuch an incomparable Work? Dr. *Walker* ſays, *He that would imitate another's Stile, ought to be well acquainted with it, and beſtow firſt, ſecond and third Thoughts.* And this ought to be done with greater Deliberation where the Work is more difficult to be imitated by reaſon of its Excellency and Perfection, and the Undertaker of a Genius agreeable to the Work: And if Dr. *Gauden* were a Covenanter, as Dr. *Walker* ſays, if his Stile and Genius were ſuch in 48 as it was in 61, if we hear not of any Correſpondence between

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him and the Royaliſts until the time that the Book was ordered for the Preſs by the King himſelf, if after that it is ſuppoſed to be written by Dr. *Gauden*, it was tranſcribed by Mr. *Gifford*, and ſent to the King by the E. of *Hertford*, in *November* 48, after which ſome things were added by the King, it will appear that ſuch a Book as this which for one that was a Stranger to the Subject muſt be more than the Work of one Year, eſpecially for a Man not duly qualified for it, as the King himſelf was confeſſed to be by Friends and Foes, for his Pen was incomparably the moſt Princely and beſt poliſhed in his time, in the Council none reaſoned more like a Senator, among the Lawyers as an Oracle, in the Camp like *Cæſar*, among the Biſhops as a *Conſtantine*, in the Temple as a Saint, on the Scaffold as an undanted Martyr, who by his Arguments was more than Conqueror over them who overcame him by their brutiſh Valour and Arms; in a word, one of his greateſt Failings was the exceſs of his Clemency, diſtruſt of his own Judgment, and his eaſie Conceſſions to his ſubtile Adverſaries, to whole Importunity he granted ſo much till they had no more to ask, nor he to give, and ſome of them were not aſhamed to provoke him the more becauſe they knew he had Charity enough to forgive them all; and indeed he forgave them that could not forgive themſelves, ſuch as God hath ſaid he will not forgive, who continue to offend out of malicious Wickedneſs: Being ask'd of C. *Hammond* his Jaylor, *What Regret his Spirit had againſt his Enemies*; he anſwered, *I can forgive them, Collonel, with as good an Appetite, as ever I eat my Meat after Hunting, and that I'll aſſure thee was no ſmall one.* In his Meditations on Death, he prays not ſo much that the bitter Cup of a violent Death may paſs from him, as that of God's Wrath may paſs from all thoſe whoſe hands by deſerting him were ſprinkled, or by acting or conſenting to his Death were embrued with his Bloud.

After theſe Acknowledgements of his Enemies, it were as needleſs as it is endleſs to ſum up the Teſtimonies of ſuch of his Friends as beſt knew him, and his Converſation, As, firſt, of his Father, who could well judge of his Proficiency in Learning and Piety; of which I have given an account. Secondly, His Vertuous Brother Prince *Henry*, who perceiving how ſtudious and reſerved his Brother was, took the Archbiſhop's Cap and put it on his head, ſaying, *If I live* Charles, *I will make thee Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

At the Age of Thirteen, on *Eaſter-Munday* 1613, he was ſtrictly examined in order to his Confirmation, by two Biſhops, in Preſence

ſence of Dr. *Hackwell* his Tutor, to the great ſatisfaction of them all.

He read and noted ſeveral good Authors, and contracted their Arguments into a narrow but clear compaſs, ſuch as *Hooker*, Bp. *Andrews*, and Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Arguments againſt *Fiſher* the Jeſuite, of which he made excellent uſe in his Diſpute with *Henderſon* at *Newcaſtle*, and the Divines ſent to worry him at the *Iſle of Wight*. But they that will not be perſuaded by what hath been already ſaid, neither will they believe though one ſhould riſe from the Dead, no nor then neither will theſe Infidels be perſwaded, for although as his Majeſty both prayed, and foretold God hath in great Mercy granted the Royal Family and the Church which died with the Father and roſe again with the Son, a Reſtauration moſt like to a Reſurrection from the Dead, yet will they not be perſuaded. But to prevent their ſeducing of others, I proceed, 2ly, to ſhew that the King did deſign this Work, for although Dr. *Walker* pretends that Dr. *Gauden* would excuſe his impoſing this Book on the World, by ſhewing the Title, and ſaying, *No Man uſeth to draw his own Picture*; yet we know that *Cæſar* did, and none but *Cæſar* could write his own Commentaries; ſo did that great Emperour and Philoſopher *Antoninus* in that excellent Book *De Seipſo*, which Dr. *Merike Caſaubon* in his *Engliſhing* that Book calleth his Meditations. And how uſual is it for great Men to keep Diaries of their ſpecial Actions and Concerns, as Archbiſhop *Laud* did.

After which Examples the King may be preſumed to have done the like; and that he did deſign ſo to do hath been ſhewn by the undoubted Evidences which have been manifeſted, concerning ſome Chapters of that Book taken at *Naſeby*, and reſtored by Major *Huntington* to the King at *Holmeby*; to which I may add, that he began it while he was beſieged in *Oxford*, and more yet when confined at *Holmeby*, and that the whole was finiſhed by his own hand at the *Iſle of Wight*, where they were ſeen both by Friends and Enemies even by Col. *Hammond* himſelf, and that Captain of whom Bp. *Fowler* produceth a ſufficient Teſtimony that he was convinced of his Majeſty's Piety and Innocence, by reading his Meditations, which made him lay down his Commiſſion, and become a Convert, as Major *Huntington* had done before.

In a Book called the *Princely Pellican*, printed 1649, the Author gives us (as he affirms in the Title-page) ſatisfactory Reaſons that his Sacred Majeſty was the ſole Author of the Book in queſtion, which he

wrote

wrote at the instance of several Persons of Quality, who knew him to have been a constant Attender on his Majesty's Person, against such Reflection as had been published against those Divine Essays, and first he tells, us that the occasion of them was, that the Parliament had misrepresented him to his People, of which he complained in these words, *O that my Subjects knew the Integrity of my Heart towards them, and that as they could not see his Heart, so neither would the Parliament permit his Presence to plead his own Cause.* But many odious, scurrilous, and treacherous Libels were published against him, which yet he perused with a modest Smile, saying, *I intend to wipe off these with a Spunge of Truth; it shall be my Task at spare hours, and many such it seems my Parliament will admit me, to undeceive my People, and to rectifie their misguided Judgments.* These were the grounds, says that Author, which induced his Majesty to this Work: After this the King in his Garden at *Theobalds* communicated this Design to some of his Gentlemen of whose Abilities he was most confident, particularly that he would shew the Reason of his Receding from the Parliament, which he hoped would be to the full Satisfaction of his Subjects, and of which he said, *That not one Line had fallen from his Pen which he might not confirm with Honour, were it racked by never so rigid and uncharitable Construction.* Then he told us, that another Subject of his writing should be, *The most Faithful Servant and Incomparable States-man that any Christian Prince could rely upon; one* (said he) *whom I cannot without a pious and religious Sorrow remember, condemning myself in nothing more than suffering my Hand to thwart the Resolution of my Heart, having so expresly delivered my Thoughts, and in so publick a manner as besides my own consciencious Fears which incessantly awaken'd me, the Relation of so ungrateful an Action cannot but in succeeding Times succeed highly to my Dishonour.* To which a Gentleman of his Privy-Chamber made answer, *That this could not be imputed to his Majesty, but to their Doctrinal Assurance, who maintained the Conveniency of it.* To which, with a deep Sigh, the King replied, *It is not safe for Princes to pin their Faith on Timing Prelates sleeves, their future account shall neither lessen my Guilt nor solve my Honour.* And when another Gentleman said, *Sir, If the sence of that Action have so strong an influence on your Thoughts, I hold it a more Princely Act rather to close then to lay open such a Wound to your Fame. Oh no! in no cases,* (Ned) said his Majesty, *the way to cure Wounds is not to close but to discover them, they rankle by being closed before they be cured: As for Princely Pollicy, I hold none better than sincere Piety, it is*

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my conſtant Reſolve, and ſhall be my daily Prayer, that my Sins may be ever before me, for there is ſuch precious Eye-ſalve in a pious Tear that it allays the Diſtemper of an afflicted Spirit. The next thing the King reflected on was, how contrary the Actings of the Parliament were to their Promiſes in making him a moſt glorious King, on which he ſaid, *It ſhould be his moſt ſupream Care to rely on God's ſacred Providence, which I am confident will never fail me, but full of Deceit is the Heart of Man.* In this manner ſays the Author, frequently and fervently did the King deliver his Mind, and return to his Study. The Author alſo gives the reaſon why his Majeſty concluded every Section with a diſtinct Pſalmody, *It was obſerved* (ſaith he) *by his Majeſty's Chaplains, and by us that waited on him, that though he ſpake occaſionally of all parts of Scripture, yet he took ſuch Comfort in the Pſalms of* David, *that he would uſually repeat whole Pſalms: Mentioning that of St.* Auguſtine, *In every part of Scripture I find ſomething uſeful, but in the Book of Pſalms I find a Store-houſe of all things*; *and if* David *a Man after God's own Heart, were ſo afflicted, that not only his Enemies but his familiar Friends who fed at his Table, made that a Snare to ketch him, what may I expect in theſe evil days?* He acknowledged God's Kindneſs to him in afflicting him, which he thus expreſſed, *I have ſeen,* ſaith he, *and applied it to myſelf, and found Comfort in the Application, how when many Children were playing the Wags in the Street, one amongſt the reſt was taken hold of and corrected, and I found it to be by the Father of that Child, and that 'twas his Affection that cauſed him to correct it*; *this is my Heavenly Father's courſe with me, and I kiſs his Rod, his Afflictions hath gained me a Tongue for Paſſion,* (ſaid the King) *which made my Tongue inarticulate, and the long courſe of Sufferings hath ſo leſſen'd my Opinion of Sufferings, that Paſſion is now a Stranger to me, and I think myſelf happy in the chearful imbracing of my Unhappineſs, and the Diſtaſte of the Publick hath made me my own private Secretary.* Then he mentioneth with what Comfort the King received theſe Papers after *Naſeby* Fight, ſaying, *I ſee that the gracious Eye of Heaven would not ſuffer me to be deprived of all Comfort: Poſterity ſhall ſee by theſe Papers that I know how to ſubdue my own Paſſion, and ſolace myſelf with Divine Comforts in the height of my Affliction*; *though the Enemy gain the Field, a compoſed Patience ſhall crown me with a braver Victory*; *I know no Triumph more Abſolute than a Self-Conqueſt.* The Author adds, *That his Majeſty's Idiom was ſo well known not only to his Attendants and Enemies, but to forreign Kings and States, that none but ſuch as were guilty of Weakneſs or Perverſneſs, could queſtion his Ability for ſuch a Work.*

His own Testimony at his Tryal that he knew the Laws of the Kingdom as well as any Gentleman that did not make Profession of them, is an Authentick Proof of his Ability.

Another Argument I shall urge is, the vast difference between the King's Stile not only in his Portraicture, but in many other Writings, as may be seen first in several of those Letters and Papers which were taken at *Naseby*, and set forth by the Parliament as the King's, of which tho they intended to make an ill use, yet as his Majesty observes on that Subject, *His Enemies might be convinced by them he could both mind and act his own and his Kingdom's Affairs, so as becomes a Prince, which my Enemies are loath should be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others whom they brand with the name of Evil Counsellors.* He that believeth the Disputations that past between his Majesty and *Henderson* at *Newcastle*, and these between him and the Commissioners in the *Isle of Wight*, which his Enemies knew to be his, being personally and *viva voce* managed, and were admired by his Opponents, must own the King's Ability, and see the same strength and nerves in the Chapter of Church-Government, though in the one he urgeth them as a Disputant, in the other as an Orator, but like himself in all: Both Disputes are to be seen among his other Works. I shall choose to commend such Works as are best known to be his Majesty's, and recommend those which he wrote during his strict Confinement in *Carisbrook* after the Vote of Non-addresses, which may be seen *p.* 279. of his Works, to 295, which will shew a great Identity both in his way of Arguing, and in the Stile.

After this to recompence my Reader's pains, (if at least he account it so) I shall compare Dr. *Gauden*'s Stile with the King's; I choose a Book which the Doctor wrote concerning the Covenant, to see whether he did imitate his Majesty in writing on that Subject, because Dr. *Walker* affirms that Chapter was written by Dr. *Gauden*, defend himself against some that said he wrote Nonsence, whom he answers in these words, *p.* 19. of his *Anti-Baal*, 'He tells 'his Reader how the City of *London* were affected with Dr. *Gauden*'s Pious Nonsence and Honest Blasphemy, when preaching at St. '*Paul*'s before the Lord-Mayor and General *Monke*, he did so A-'natomize those cruel Medicasters and crafty Empiricks of the 'Times, the slight Healers who made their Profit and Pleasure 'out of the Diseases, Pain, and Miseries of their Country; How 'did the Rumpers then rage and tremble at the Truth and Cour-

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'age of Dr. *Gauden*'s Nonſence? How were the Regicides aſtoniſh-
'ed at the Sword of his Mouth, that Word of God? How were
'the Sacrilegious Merchants of Church-Lands appaled before that
'Blaſphemy, which being like Thunder and Lightning by Dr. *Gau-*
'*den*'s Tongue and Pen quite blaſted, all the Glory of their Purcha-
'ſes, of which ſo ſeaſonable Sermons and Writings, eſpecially that
'of the Tears of the Church of *England*, the Libeller expreſſeth a
'deep ſence, for from that time the bloody *Babel* fell, and could
'riſe no more from that day: Many wicked Men began to look
'what Rocks and Mountains might cover them; and by this time
'they may have a quicker ſence of Dr. *Gauden*'s Nonſence, not-
'withſtanding they have thick Skins, brawny Hearts, and cauteri-
'zed Conſciences.

You ſhall ſeldom find the Genius of two Authors more differing than theſe of the King and the Doctor; his Majeſty's Diſcourſes were exceeding rational and curt, but very convincing, and the Meekneſs of his Expreſſions inſinuated as Oyl to mollifie the hardeſt Temper: *By your Favour Sir*, was his uſual Condeſcention in his Diſputes; yea, even at his Tryal to *Bradſhaw:* In every Paragraph of his there is as ὑψος and a βάθος, a great height of Reaſon and Contemplation to entertain the learned, and a great Plainneſs and Facility of Sence and Expreſſion; ſo that as ſome ſay of the Scripture, The Elephant may ſwim, and the Lamb wade through. Dr. *Walker* talked of peculiar Expreſſions uſed by Dr. *Gauden* in his private Devotion, but names not one. I beg the Reader's Patience therefore to repeat a few of them in the Book lately quoted, *p.* 10. he ſays, *His Adverſary ſtruts in his Rhodomontado Titles of Defiance, in his prodigious Railings, in his ſarcaſtical Ironies, in his ſophiſtical Sophiſms, in his dull Argumentations, in his ſpecious Pretences of Zeal, and Clamors for Reformation.* And *p.* 13. ſpeaking of his Analiſis of the Covenant, he talks of the ſolid weight and Divine Truth of that free and rational Analiſis void of Obſcurity, Popularity, Partiality, Sophiſtry, or Flattery. *P.* 16. he tells his Adverſaries of their Cacotomy, their Idolized Sacrilegious Sectors and Paſquil Oratory, the Atrocity of their Facts and Impudicities, a By-blow of Devotion, the *Gorgon*'s Head, and Devil of *Maſcow*, the Spirit of *Aſmodeus*, Leopardike Presbyters, Taliſmanik Charms; he calls them Medicaſters and crafty Empyricks, compares his two Opponents to *Sancho Pancho* and *Don Quixot*, with their Pickvant Darts and Lippient Eyes, Heards of good Words, and Flocks of Figures. It is a wonder, as

others have obſerved, that if Dr. *Gauden* had penned that Book, that no ſuch Expreſſions are found in it, no not one, when his Writings are ſtuft with Bombaſt, and *Greek* Words, and *Latine* Sentences, yea, with ſome of his Peculiarities Dr. *W.* calls them, ſuch as his *Anal ptiſt, Cacotomy, Impoſtarage, Borborites, Graſſant, Traculent, Brontes, Fanto, Farrago, Paradoe, Sempervive, Corbeniſt, Ecobolian, Antiſectical, Symoniack, Privado, Offa* and *Buccoone, Cordolium, Ephialta, Parrheſy, Cæcinnations, Diaboletto's*; and many ſuch other Expreſſions which may deſerve an Explanation when *Bluni's* or *Chamberlain's* Dictionary of hard Words are next printed. How one ſmall Book ſhould abound with ſuch Words and Phraſes, and not one of them in the King's Book, conſidering how fond the Doctor ſeems to be of them, is a probable Argument that the Doctor had no hand in that Book. Beſides it is a wonder to think, how Dr. *Gauden* at or before 48 ſhould be Maſter of ſo grave, ſignificant and polite Stile, and in the Year 61, ſhould when he was a Biſhop, uſe ſuch an Exotick, Verboſe and almoſt Barbarous Stile; this is another Argument to convince that not Dr. *Gauden* but the King was the Author of that Book.

If I ſhould trace all the Footſteps and Characters of the King's Image and Superſcription, I muſt tranſcribe the whole, which is an expreſs Image of his Royal Soul, which as the Philoſophers ſay of the Souls informing the Body is, *Tota in toto & tota in qualibet parte*; His humble Confeſſions, his ſolemn Appeals to God, his Vows and Reſolutions to perſevere in ſuffering any Affliction rather than to break the Peace of his Conſcience, or be guilty of deſerting the Church, which he ſhewed to be dearer than his Life. He that will find a Parallel to the Life and Writings of our Royal Martyr, muſt aſcend to the Apoſtolical and Primitive Times, for among all our Modern Examples if there may be any one found that may be compared with him in any one Grace or Vertue, yet there is none that comes near him for all thoſe Graces which ſhined in him, as illuſtriouſly as the Sun doth above the other Luminaries: Where is there ſuch an inſtance of Condeſcention and Charity to Enemies, of greater Love and Conſtancy to his Friends, of Patience and Submiſſion in Affliction, of Humility and Devotion to God, of the Contempt of Death in its moſt terrible Approaches, and dreadful Aſpect? That which would have aſtoniſhed and ſtupified the Spirits of other Men, comforted and elevated his Paſſage from a Crown of Thorns to a Crown of Glory.

The

The next Argument to prove that the King was the Author of this Book, is the Teſtimony of thoſe ſeveral Perſons which were concerned in the Printing and Publiſhing of his Majeſty's Book; and firſt I have this Teſtimony from Mr. *John Norman*, who was well acquainted with Mr. *Royſton*, when the Book was firſt publiſhed, who had it from Mr. *Royſton*'s own mouth, *viz. That there was Information given that ſuch a Book was to be printed, and great Endeavours were uſed to prevent it, but that he had removed a Preſs at ſome diſtance from the City to ſecure the Impreſſion; which he did, and ſpeedily finiſhed it, not without ſome Hazard, there being diligent Search made in all the known Printers Houſes for it: but in one night he cauſed ſeveral Hawkers to come to a certain place where the Books were delivered them, and they ſold above two thouſand Copies for the price of* 15 s. *each: That the Care and Charge which he uſed for concealing the Impreſſion, coſt him ſome hundreds of Pounds, which notwithſtanding he was taken up on Suſpicion, and made a Priſoner, till after ſome time he had his Liberty on giving* 500 l. *Bail.* Now what cauſed this great Care and Expence in Mr. *Royſton*, but the Letter which he had formerly received from the King to prepare a Preſs for ſome Papers which ſhould be ſent him? What cauſed ſo great Endeavours to ſuppreſs them, but becauſe they were truly informed that the King had of a long time been writing ſomewhat in Vindication of himſelf, and they had a hint that it was then in the Preſs. Mr. *Norman* is an aged Perſon well known in the City of *Exon*, and County of *Devon*.

It will be too tedious to recite all the Teſtimonies of thoſe ſeveral Perſons who had a hand in Methodizing the looſe Papers, in Tranſcribing, and Publiſhing them in Print, as Sir *John Brattle* and his Father, Mr. *Odert*, Mr. *Gifford*, the Tranſcribers, Mr. *Royſton*, Mr. *Simmonds*, and others concerned in the Printing, whoſe Teſtimonies have been produced, and are above all Exception: And yet his Majeſty's own Teſtimony, though he bore Witneſs of himſelf, is moſt material, for in that Letter to the Prince from the *Iſle of Wight*, which I preſume none could be ſo daring to write in his Majeſty's Name, and publiſh it while he was living, and might have ſurvived much longer, and call the Queen his Wife, and the Prince his Son, and preſcribe Rules to him, he thus begins, *Son if thoſe Papers, with ſome others wherein I have ſet down the private Reflections of my Conſcience, and my moſt Impartial Thoughts touching the chief Paſſages which have been moſt remarkable or diſputed in my late Troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſigned, they may*

be

be so far useful to you as to state your Judgment aright, as to what is past, whereof a pious is the best use that can be made: And they may also give you some Directions how to remedy the present Distempers, and prevent (if GOD will) the like for the time to come. It is some kind of lessening and deceiving the Injury of my long Restraint, when I find my Leisure and Solitude have produced something worthy of myself, and useful to you, that neither you nor any other may hereafter measure my Cause by the Success, nor my Judgment of Things by my Misfortune, &c. I cannot think that any but the King could be the Author of this Letter, 1*st*, Because it is affirmed by many that it was delivered to Bishop *Juxton* to be conveyed to the Prince. 2*ly*, Because as K. *James*, his Father, had left large Instructions to his Son, with a Charge to observe them, which he called Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον, so in Imitation of him, King *Charles* would not leave the World without giving his Son whom he left in a Sea of Troubles, without some Directions, which he had learned by long Experience, how to steer his Course: And if this Letter be the King's, we have an Assurance that the rest of his Meditations were so too, to which the King refers the Prince for further Direction. One instance I cannot omit, because I think that this being joyned with that of the Letter to the Prince, may, if well considered, put an end to the Controversie, it is the Answer which the King made to the Commissioners in the *Isle of Wight*, when they prest him to yield to their Desires for the Abrogating of Episcopacy in *England*. To which Dr. *Gauden* says the King answered, *That he had granted all he could to save his Life, which might consist with the saving of his Soul.* And being urged again, *That his Majesty had abolished Episcopacy in* Scotland. He answer'd, *That it is no Plea to sin again because he had once sinned in this kind, but rather to repent and do so no more.* This Answer of the King's Dr. *Gauden* might have known in the Year 1661, when he quoted it in *Anti-Baal*, p. 134. but he could not know it so early as to place it in the middle of the Εἰκών, if he had written that Book, the Chapter being the 17th of that Book, was in all probability written by the King some Years before, which was not known to the Bishop before that Book was printed: But the King had opportunity after the Treaty to correct, alter, and add what he thought fit, till his close Imprisonment; so that he had either written the Answer which we have in that Chapter before, (which the Doctor had not seen so long ago as to write it in that place) or inserted it after the Treaty was over; the King's Answer

is

is this: *If any ſhall impute my yielding to them (the* Scots*) as my Failing and Sin, I can eaſily acknowledge it; but that is no Argument to do ſo again, or much worſe, being now more convinced in that Point; nor indeed hath my yielding to them been ſo Happy and Succeſsful as to encourage me to grant the like to others.*

Nor is it ſo likely that the Biſhop would accuſe the King of Sin, (though he doth it himſelf,) which might have put a better Argument into his Enemies mouths than any they had invented againſt him, *(viz.) His Obſtinacy to grant that to the* Engliſh *which he had granted to the* Scots.

More Inſtances may be collected from almoſt every Chapter by the Judicious, to convince him that not Dr. *Gauden* but the King was the Author of that Book: I ſuppoſe therefore that the King might inſert that Anſwer after he had given it to the Commiſſioners at the Treaty, for evident it is, that the Title was altered after the Book was in the Preſs by the King's order, on Dr. *Taylor*'s Letter, which is another good Argument. That Dr. *Gauden*'s ſhewing the Title (Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ) to evade the Fault of impoſing a Book of his own on the Nation in the King's Name, was a meer Fiction of Dr. *Walker*'s; for the Book which was ſent to the Preſs had another Title, *viz. Suſpiria Regalia: or, The Royal Defence*; and was not altered until the Book was begun to be printed.

I am loath to defile my hands again by medling with *Milton*, but I muſt to ſtop the foul Mouths of ſome People whom he hath taught to object, that his Majeſty made uſe of a Prayer made by a Heathen to a falſe God or Goddeſs in time of Captivity. To which I anſwer, *1ſt*, By denying what *Milton* ſays, *That the King had unhallowed and unchriſtned Chriſtianiſm, by borrowing to a Chriſtian uſe Prayers offered to a Heathen God.* To which Dr. *Earle*'s Anſwer to *Milton* ſaith, *Did St.* Paul *by applying to a Chriſtian uſe the Words of a Heathen Philoſopher and Poet, unhallow the Scripture?* Doth not *Milton* confeſs that Book of Sir *Philip Sidney*'s is full of Wit and Worth? And why might not a Chriſtian Prince collect what is good out of a worthy Book of ſuch a Religious Author, for Sir *Philip Sidney* was known to be a Man of great Piety and Wiſdom, as well as of Courage and Wit: I have heard that the King for his Recreation did divert himſelf by reading that Book, the beſt of its kind then extant; and he did it with great Obſervation and good Improvement. Now which is more commendable, the King who made his very Recreations ſubſervient to his Devotion, or

thoſe

thoſe Adverſaries of his that prophaned the Scriptures and their Prayers with preaching up Rebellion, Curſing the King, and venting their Malice and bitter Paſſions againſt their Brethren? The King had great Examples for what he did, no leſs than of our Saviour, who in the Inſtitution of both Sacraments, and in compoſing the Form of Prayer for his Diſciples, made uſe both of the Matter and Words which were uſed by the *Jews*, adapting them to his Sacred Ordinances, that are to continue till the World's end: And when *Celſus* objected to St. *Origen*, *That he could parallel moſt of our Saviour's Precepts with the Saying of ſome of his Heathens*; *Origen* thought it a great Recommendation of the Evangelical Precepts, that they ſo well accorded with the Moral and Natural Truths which the Reaſon of Mankind did approve of. Were the *Jews* ever blamed for Adorning the Temple with the Riches and Spoil of *Ægypt*? Did not *Solomon* borrow Materials and Architecks from an Idolatrous King, to build the Temple of the True God? God permitted his own People to do what the King (if he did it) hath done: They might marry a *Moabitiſh* Woman that was a Captive, after her Purification by paring her Nails and ſhaving her Hair, and ſo ſhe became a Daughter of *Sion*. It is eaſie to collect from ſuch Heathen as *Seneca*, *M. Antonius Epictetus*, *M. Tyrius*, &c. ſuch Petitions to their Unknown Gods, as might ſhame the haſty Harangues of many who profeſs a more perfect Knowledge than others of the True God.

Dr. *Patrick* in his *Parable of the Pilgrim*, written after the manner of a Romance, hath ſaid more to inſinuate Piety and Devotion to the Hearts of his Readers, than can be found in all the Sermons writ by *Cromwel*'s and the Army-Chaplains, whoſe Preaching and Prayers were of Curſing and Lies, as *David* expreſſeth it.

The PRAYER objected is in theſe Words:

O Powerful and Eternal GOD, to whom nothing is ſo great that it may reſiſt, or ſo ſmall that it is contemned, look upon my Miſery with Thine Eye of Mercy, and let Thy infinite Power vouchſafe to limit out ſome Proportion of Deliverance unto me, as to Thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient: Let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over me; Let my Faults by Thy Hand be corrected, and make not my unjuſt Enemies the Miniſters of Thy Juſtice; but yet, my GOD, if in Thy Wiſdom this be the apteſt Chaſtiſement for my Unexcuſable Trangreſſions, if this ungrateful Bondage be fitteſt

teſt for my over-high Deſires; if the Pride of my (not enough humble) Heart be thus to be broken: O Lord, I yield unto thy Will, and chearfully imbrace what Sorrow thou wilt have me ſuffer; only thus much let me crave of thee, (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of, ſince it even proceeds from thee,) That by thy Goodneſs, which is thyſelf, thou wilt ſuffer ſome Beam of thy Majeſty ſo to ſhine in my Mind, that I who acknowledge it my nobleſt Title to be thy Creature, may ſtill in my greateſt Afflictions, depend conſiderably on thee, let Calamity be the Exerciſe but not the Overthrow of my Virtue: O let not their prevailing Power be to my Deſtruction; and if it be thy Will that they more and more weaken me with Puniſhment, yet, O Lord, never let their Wickedneſs have ſuch a hand but that I may ſtill carry a pure Mind and ſtedfaſt Reſolution ever to ſerve thee without Fear or Preſumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may pleaſe thee, ſo that at the laſt I may come to thy Eternal Kingdom, through the Merits of thy Son, our alone Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

Now who could find ſuch a Jewel, though lying in a Dung-hill, and not think it worthy to be taken up and ſet in Gold? Yet be it known, that this Prayer was not the Conception of a Heathen to a Pagan God, but of a ſerious and eminent Chriſtian to direct others how to Addreſs themſelves to the True GOD in time of Extremity; for as it was the Buſineſs even of Heathen Poets and Satyriſts to expoſe Vice and commend Virtue in their Satyrs and Interludes; ſo and much more was it intended by that noble Perſon throughout his *Arcadia*. 'Tis an excellent Directory for Prayer, which *Perſius*, none of the beſt Poets, hath given,

Demus ſuperis jus faſq; animi ſanctoſq; receſſus,
Mentis & incoctum generoſo pectore honeſtum,
Hæc cedo ut admoveam templis & farre litabo.

Now who can wonder that the King is blamed for uſing this Prayer by them that reject our Lord's Prayer. This yet I obſerve for the Honour of his Majeſty, that what his Enemies would account a Virtue in others, they impute as a Fault to him, his moſt innocent Actions are charged with tranſcendent Guilt, their tranſcendent Guilt repreſented as pious Actions, for thus that Miſcreant diſcants on the finding this Prayer printed among the King's Papers, *Who would have imagined ſo little Fear in him of the True All-ſeeing Deity, ſo little Reverence of the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe Office it is to dictate*

State and present our Christian Prayers, so little Care of Truth in his last Words, or Honour to himself or to his Friends, or Sence of his Afflictions, or of that sad Hour which was upon him, as immediately before his Death to pop into the hand of that grave Bishop who attended him, as a special Relique of his Family Exercise, a Prayer stollen out, &c.

The ground of this Devilish Invective he makes that which he calls the stoln Prayer; But what one Sentence or Word in all that Prayer may not become a Christian in his deepest Affliction? Do all that pray by set Forms despise the Office of the Holy Ghost? What shall become then of all those Primitive Christians, and the Reformed Churches that pray by Forms? And how can he fix that Hellish Accusation of his Majesty on a false Conceit, that this was the Prayer used by him in his last Words? This is a Suggestion of his own Malice and Delusion.

Lastly, This Prayer was not heard of until a considerable time after the King's Death: I have seen his Majesty's Book printed and reprinted, one of which I can produce where there is no Footstep of this Prayer, it might perhaps be found among some other loose Papers of his Majesty, which the Printer for his Benefit, finding how great Esteem the People had of his Majesty's Devotions, clapt in with his Book, as we are wont to bind up the Apocripha with the Canonical Scriptures. This therefore is the Malice of a Rebel, and the Scoff of an Atheist, of one that exceeds the Grand Regicide *Bradshaw*, who when Mr. *Royston* told him on his Oath, *That he knew no other but that it was the King's Book*; Askt him, *How he could believe that so ill a Man could make so good a Book?* And how, say I, could so good a Book be made by an ill Man? The whole Book was but a Transcript of his Life, which answer each other as Face to Face; as *Philo* in the Life of *Moses*, such as his Words were such were his Deeds; as in a Musical Instrument all was Harmonious and Uniform, his Heart and Mind was seen in his Actions, and his Actions expressed in lively, charming, pious, and powerful Words.

Thus lived this Glorious King, and thus he died as another *Moses*, though of a stammering Tongue, yet Mighty in Words and Deeds; his whole Life, as *Philo* says, was a Martyrdom to God, being worried by the Contradiction of a Rebellious People, who chose Idols to go before them, a *Chorah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, rather than *Moses* and *Aaron*; he was the meekest Man on the Earth, when a rude Souldier spit in his Face, he wiped it off with a pious

Thought,

Thought, *My Saviour* (ſaith he) *endured this and more for my ſake.* He was not appaled when he ſaw the Red Sea before him, and Armies of *Ægyptian* Souldiers on every ſide, he did not as *Moſes, exceedingly quake and fear,* being more concerned for his Murtherers than for himſelf: And as *Philo* ſays of *Moſes, Non calligavit oculus nec mutatus eſt ſplendor gratiæ ejus*; As Majeſtick on the Scaffold as on the Throne; which he aſcended as more than Conqueror from an *Ægypt* to *Canaan,* whereof he had a full Proſpect from his Mount *Piſgah*; there he Bleſſed the Tribes of *Iſrael,* and Propheſied of their future Proſperity, as in *Deut.* 33. There God promiſed to go up with him and give him Reſt, *Exod.* 33. 14. There he could converſe with God as a Man with his Friend, face to face: And having prayed to ſee the Glory of God, it was wonderfully diſplayed before him, as in *Exod.* 34. 6, 7. in Grace and Mercy to him, and in Terrour to his Enemies that were guilty of his Death. And ſo he died as the Rabbins ſay, *With a Kiß of GOD's Mouth.*

But the Malice of his Enemies is not yet dead, for the Devil and his Angels are ſtill diſputing with *Michael* and his Angels about his Book, as they did about the Body of *Moſes, (i. e.)* as ſome interpret it the Book of his Law and Inſtructions for the Service of God; the reaſon is the ſame as is given why the Apoſtate *Julian* removed the Bones of *Babylas* the Martyr, becauſe as long as the Relicks of the Martyr were ſo nigh, the Devil's Oracles could not aſſiſt him; nor will the Conſults of Papiſts, Republicans, or Regicides have any Operation upon us, as long as the *Reliquiæ Carolina* have their due Reſpect and Influence upon us.

FINIS.

A Catalogue of Books written by the Reverend Mr. *Long*, one of the Prebends of St. *Peter's Exon.*

A *Resolution of certain Queries concerning Submission to the Present Government.*

The QUERIES.

I. *Concerning the Original of Government.*

II. *What is the Constitution of the Government of* England?

III. *What Obligation lies on the King by the Coronation-Oath?*

IV. *What Obligation lies on the Subject by the Oaths of Supremacy?* &c.

V. *Whether if the King Violate his Oath, and actually Destroys the Ends of it, the Subjects are freed from their Obligation to him?*

VI. *Whether the King hath Renounced or Deserted the Government?*

VII. *Whether on such Desertion, the People, to preserve themselves from Confusion, may admit another, and what Method is to be used in such Admission?*

VIII. *Whether the Settlement now made, is a Lawful Establishment, and such as with a good Conscience may be Submitted to?*

Reflections upon a late Book, entituled, The Case of Allegiance conder'd; *wherein is shewn, that the Church of* England's *Doctrine of Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience, is not inconsistent with Taking the New Oaths to their present Majesties.*

The Historian Unmask'd: or, some Reflections on the late History of Passive Obedience; wherein the Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance is truly stated and asserted.

The Case of Persecution, charg'd on the Church of England, *consider'd and discharg'd, in order to Her Justification, and a desired Union of Protestant Dissenters.*

An Answer to a Socinian *Treatise, call'd,* The Naked Gospel, *which was decreed by the University of* Oxford, *in Convocation,* Aug. 19th, *Anno Dom.* 1690. *to be publickly Burnt, as containing divers Heretical Propositions: With a Postscript, in Answer to what is added by Dr.* Bury, *in the Second Edition.*

Truth brought to Light:

OR THE

GROSS FORGERIES

Of Dr. *HOLLINGWORTH*,

In his Pamphlet Intituled, *The Character of King* CHARLES *the First, from the Declaration of Mr.* Alexander Henderson, *&c.*

DETECTED.

Being a VINDICATION of Mr. HENDERSON and Dr. WALKER, from the *Aldgate* Chaplain's vile Scandals.

To which is annex'd, A manifest Proof that Dr. *Gauden* (not King *Charles* I.) was the Author of *Icon Basilice,* by a late happy Discovery of his Original Papers upon that Occasion.

In a Letter from Lieut. General *LUDLOW* to Dr. *Hollingworth.*

Veritas est Filia Temporis, & magna est, & prævalebit.

LONDON, Printed in the Year 1693.

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THE PUBLISHER TO Dr. Hollingworth.

SIR,

IT is some Months since a Friend prevailed with me to throw away an Hour in Perusal of your Pamphlet, which pretended to answer that, called *LUDLOW NO LIAR*: and having complied therein, I drew up and resolved to give you my Sense thereof; but having since received the inclosed Answer to your Book, I was thinking to review mine, or lay it aside; but upon second Thoughts you shall have both, in hopes that the one may supply that wherein the other is deficient: What I then wrote ran thus.

I expected, Sir, from one who calls himself *a Minister* of the *Gospel*, a Spirit of Meekness, Love and Charity, suitable to your Vocation (Example prevailing more with corrupt Nature than Precept) but instead of that, I find you guilty of great Bitterness and Railing, (though *Michael* the Arch-Angel would not rail against a Devil:) You use General *Ludlow* very rudely, a Person you do not know, who never meddled with you, or gave you any Provocation, and whose Vertues are so celebrated in those Countries where he hath 32 Years been forced to live, as is in this Atheistical Age a great Reputation to our Nation, as you will find, if you inquire after it. I suppose you are a Gentleman by Birth, as well as Breeding, and not ingaged against him by the Injoyment of any part of his Estate; and in such Case it is not sufficiently to

be admired you ſhould treat him in that undecent manner you now, as well as formerly, have done. If Vertue in this Age be with you the Object of Scorn and Deriſion, methinks the Antiquity of his Family (of which he was the Chief) might have deſerved ſome Civility from you, and I believe you are the firſt unprovoked and unintereſted Gentleman of all his Enemies, that ever uſed him as you have done, and eſpecially impertinently; for you know the Book you pretend to anſwer, though it bears his Name, is none of his, and therefore in what you have done, you have ſhewed your ſelf a buſy-body, which the Apoſtle reproves. It was the Honour and Reſpect a Noble Perſon had for his Heroick Qualities, that cool'd him at the Reſtoration in his Search after him, eſpecially having in that Imployment found among his Writings Evidences of the great Antiquity of his Anceſtors: And this I do not ſpeak by heat-ſay, for I had it from the Noble Perſon himſelf. The Matter you lay to his Charge, cannot excuſe your ſpiteful Uſage of him, for ſeveral others under his Circumſtances, were ſome pardoned by Act of Parliament, and others by the King's own ſingle Act: And (he not being contemptible in the Eyes of thoſe that knew him) had his Pardon offered him, provided he would have complied with thoſe Times: and we now ſee that they who did ſo, have little Reaſon to boaſt thereof, if they conſider the Sale of *Dunkirk*; giving *Canada* for an inſignificant part of *St. Chriſtophers*; letting the French rob us, in a great Meaſure, of our *New-found-Land*-Fiſhery, our chief Nurſery for Sea-men; permitting the French to increaſe their Naval Force to ſo dangerous an height, that they now pretend to cope with all the World at Sea, *&c.*

Nay the French King, when in League with *Holland* (*An.* 1665.) againſt us, offered him any Conditions (as he had to ſhew) but his Soul was too great and loyal to his Country, to ſeek Revenge for caſting him out, and then maliciouſly purſuing him at a great Charge by a Company of Cut-throats to murder him, one of which being afterwards taken, was executed: and though his Indeavour herein was not the Cauſe of his Death, yet being guilty of another Crime, which had otherwiſe been pardoned, it was the Occaſion of his Suffering, ſo great a Value had the ſupream Magiſtrates of the Country where General *Ludlow* lived for his Vertues: and thus I explain this to you, becauſe I would not leave you any Ground for a Cavil. But your ill Uſage of him is the leſs to be wondred at, and the more to be excuſed, becauſe you have done

done the same by Doctor *Walker*, one of your own Tribe, and one so eminently pious and vertuous, as is a Credit to the Church, even as if you had no Regard to Merit or Desert, when it stands in your way: a Spirit not commendable in any, but much less in one of your Function; and such a Temper disparageth any Cause it espouseth, rendring the Advocate suspicious of being Mercinary, which I am sorry you should lie under, as it may be prejudicial to your Ministry: For however you value your self upon the good Opinion of yours Parishioners, they being an understanding, and in the general a well affected People, cannot be long deceived.

Now, Sir, to come to your Pamphlet it self. Tho you very confidently bespeak the Approbation of it, from all unbyassed Persons, I do not find by the Sale of it, that it is thought worth buying, and believe you had done your self, and the Cause you are ingaged in, more Right, had you never medled in it first or last. I shall not concern my self about your trifling Hear-says and Informations, but make some Observations upon what you write, and begin with the Character you say Mr. *Henderson* gave of the King. To which I answer, That a better Proof ought to be given, that it was really his, as it is hardly to be believ'd it was, being in Words, Stile, and Matter purely English, save some little things used to disguise it, as *Kirk* and *State*, with the Word *exeme*. Nor did the wiser sort of Scots believe *Gowry*'s Conspiracy; but on the contrary laugh'd at it; and the Politicians said, the Relation in Print did murder all Possibility of Credit; yet there was a weekly Commemoration thereof by the Tuesday's Sermons, and an Anniversary Feast. But it is no way probable that Mr. *Henderson* would commend in the King his zealous Observation of that Day.

And besides all this, these Reasons may be given of your being abused, or rather abusing the World in it.

1. Because Archbishop *Lamplugh*, so great a Votary for the King (from whose Son you say you had it) would not (as may be presumed) have been wanting in the publishing of it, had it not been a Forgery.

2. Because Mr. *Henderson*, no more than other Presbyterian Ministers, used to call the Lord's Day by the Heathenish Name of *Sunday*: and where any one thing is forged, it may well render the rest suspicious.

3. Be-

3. Because Mr. *Henderson* knew that they renewed their old Covenant in 1638. and that it was four or five Years after, before we of *England* came into Covenant with them: so that we neither induced them to enter into Covenant, or imposed it upon them, as this Character suggests, and seems to assert.

4. That had the Scots had the King's Vertues in so great Admiration as this Character would make them to have, they would have taken him with them from *Newcastle* (where they had him in their Hands) for *Scotland*, as we desired them, and not have imposed him upon us; lest he should bring the same Misery upon them, which they were not so well able to bear, as he had done upon us.

5. Tho Mr. *Henderson* (as I have heard) might have a better Opinion of the King's Parts, upon a Conference he had with him, than he had had; yet he never went further in his Commendations: much less do I believe that by the King's Arguments, of a Presbyterian Minister Mr. *Henderson* became a Convert to Episcopacy, or that Government, as his Repentance would insinuate. Neither can any say of another, that no Man ever saw him in Passion, or heard him swear, as you make Mr. *Henderson* to assert of the King. So that upon the whole this Character must be a Forgery; yet if it were not, it would avail very little, being the single Sentiment of a Stranger, that could not have had much Experience of him: but this serves to shew, how ready you are to lay hold of the most insignificant Circumstance to help your feeble Cause.

6. It appears beyond Contradiction to be a Forgery, for that it is not found in that Book called *King Charles his Works*, though all that passed betwixt the King and Mr. *Henderson*, is there recited to the full; so that no other Argument to prove the Forgery is needful.

King *James* used to complain of the Stubbornness of his Son, the then Prince of *Wales*; and upon that account he might tell the Duke of *Buckingham*, that he durst trust him with the Jesuits, as you say he did: but this being before his Marriage with his Popish Queen, who had a great Influence upon him, and of his Popish Council, *viz. Arundel*, *Weston*, *Cottington* and *Windebanck*, who all died Papists, it is of little Consideration as to the proof of his Aversion to Popery; especially Monsieur *Syrie*, the French King's Historiographer for the Affairs of *Italy*, telling us in his Mercury, that when *Rosset* the Pope's Nuncio delivered him a Remonstrance, shewing it his Interest to turn Papist, the King (as his Answer) demanded only, *Whether*

ther the Pope would dispense with his Catholick Subjects in taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy? For he was a great lover of Dominion, if he preferred it not to Religion. Upon which the Nuncio answered, That if he would be a Catholick, (as he called it) he must be it without Conditions: and so they parted at that time. And that Parliament of 1640, which from their wise Conduct became in their time a Terror to all their Enemies, coming soon after, made the Nuncio fly into *Ireland*, not long before the Massacre there, where it's said he died.

Were you, Sir, not ignorant of former Transactions, you would know it was not the Pope's Dissatisfaction with the then Prince of *Wales*'s Letter, (as you say it was) that made him deny his Dispensation for his marrying the Infanta of *Spain*; but the Spanish Court, which then ruled *Rome*, would not suffer it, tho by the Pope's Denial they might excuse their juggling with his Father and himself, which they had long done, by their Ambassador *Gondomar*, in favour of our English Papists, having always intended the Infanta for the Emperor, as she was not long after given to him.

As to the King's Justice, Charity, and good Nature, so much boasted of by you; his inlarging of Forests, to the Ruine of many; the extrajudicial Use he made of the Star-Chamber, in Fining, and punishing Men beyond Law, or their Abilities; Removing Gentlemen (for their greater Vexation) out of their own Counties, to Prisons in other Counties; His Arbitrary exacting Ship-money, Coat and Conduct-money, Knighthood-money, with a multitude of Monopolies, and other Practices; countenancing the merciless Cruelty of the High-Commission-Court against Dissenters, &c. are sufficient to silence any but your self and Church-Bigots, whose Bigotry is not capable of either Wisdom or Honesty. And as to his Chastity, (a Vertue this Age values not) would I follow your Example in insisting upon Hear-says, too much might be instanced in as to that.

I grant that the Prayer to *Pamela* was not in the first Edition of that Book, called *The Portraiture of the King*, and give you Thanks for your Information; for by it you have removed all the Scruples any one could have of Dr. *Gauden*'s being the Author of it; because the Doctor being as able in Praying as Preaching, an Argument might have been raised, that he needed not to make use of a Prayer to a Heathen Deity; and therefore he could not be thought the Author of that Book: but that Objection is now clearly out of doors.

And

And if this Prayer be found in K. *Charles*'s Works, it will clear those you call his Enemies from being guilty of foisting it in, as you lay it to their Charge: for that Book being printed at so great an Expence, as to make the Price near 3 *l.* (for I never thought it worth my buying) it cannot be supposed that his Enemies, but his greatest Friends were the Printers of it, and perhaps such as knew the King made use of this Prayer in his private Devotions.

Dr. *Walker* tells us, that when he disapproved the Design of wronging Posterity, in making that Book the King's, which was none of his; Dr. *Gauden* replied, That no Man can be thought to draw his own Picture, alluding to the Title: and indeed, besides this, the very Title being Greek, may be some Argument that it was none of the King's, who was never said to be a Grecian.

As to *Rushworth*'s Collections, it's confessed that the second Edition was gelded, but not for want of proof of any thing asserted in the first, as you would have it, but for fear of the Envy of those in Power: and his Collections may be thought the more Authentick, in that tho he was faithful to his Masters, he was professedly for Regulated Monarchy, (as all are that are wise and honest) and in his Inclinations was a Royalist, even in the time of our Civil Wars; and therefore the more worthy Praise, for being notwithstanding that so jealous of his Honour, in being so great a Patron of Truth.

Laud's Defence at his Trial, as also his Speech and Sermon upon the Scaffold, (extant in Print, and in my Custody) do not shew him to have been that great, wise, learned and pious Man as you render him: but I suppose you do it at adventure, for I do not think he is so thought of by any besides your self, that knows what Piety is.

As to what Mr. *Prynn* said, if true, as there is reason to suspect all your Assertions, it would signify no more, than the getting the keeping of the Records of the Tower; as the Design of your writing may perhaps be for a Deanery, if your weak Performance do not render you undeserving.

You vapour most upon not answering some immaterial Points, as I suppose you will for my not replying particularly to your impertinent Queries: and had you not some such Omissions, as you think, to brag of, you would have nothing to say.

You shew what you would be at, and the reason of your so great Concern for King *Charles* the First, in calling the Resolves of Council, Acts of State, according to the arbitrary Mode of *France*.

King

King *Charles* the First, I must tell you, took the Civil Wars upon himself, but you in Flattery charge them upon the Parliament, and therein give him the Lie; as also in calling those that adhered unto the Parliament, Rebels, when the Act of Indemnity makes it Penal to do so; wherein you confidently blame both King and Parliament.

You deny that ever you were reputed a *Presbyterian*; and yet I can name you a Doctor that was very well acquainted with you in the University, who affirms that you were taken there for one: And the same Gentleman (to whom upon occasion you confessed, that Clergymen, when they meddle with Politicks, do commonly play the Fools) doth aver, that you left *Cambridg*, as being dissatisfied with their Ceremonies: and whether you do not make good your Assertion as to the Folly in Clergymen, I leave to others.

And now, as you end your Paper with Queries, I shall follow your Example, tho not so impertinently.

1. Whether the Testimonies of King *Charles* the Second, and K. *James* the Second, concerning that Book you call their Father's, in their denying he writ it, and affirming it was writ by Dr. *Gauden*, be not of more Authority than those you bring against theirs?

2. Whether it is not injurious to the deceased King, to make him the Author of that Book, which asserts that he summoned the Parliament that begun the third of *November*, 1640, spontaneously, and of his own accord; professing that he always had had a Love to Parliaments? Which is so great an Untruth, that by Proclamation he forbad so much as speaking of Parliaments, and had none in twelve Years; and then he was forced to call one by the Necessity of his Affairs, and the Importunity of the Peers assembled at *York*: so that he could not be Author of this Chapter, without great Hypocrisy. And I knew a Gentleman of Quality, no Enemy to the King, who finding the Book to begin with this Chapter, after he had read it, with Indignation threw the Book away, without reading any further, saying, If it begun with so known a Lie, nothing else could be expected from it.

3. Whether Dr. *Walker*, a Person of Worth and Veracity, whose Book is writ with so much Candor and Clearness, as carries its

Credentials with it, and who by your unmannerly Usage, (in your first Defence of King *Charles*, in answer to *Ludlow*'s first Letter) was forced for his Vindication, to publish his Knowledg, is not more to be believed, than all your Subterfuges and Prevarications?

4. Whether your confident begging the Question, in what you cannot prove, is to be regarded against clear Demonstration? And were you not, as many of your Tribe are, one of those that choose rather to be a Master of Error than a Scholar of Truth, you would not so pertinaciously persevere in your crooked Way, against such clear and undeniable Light.

You may perhaps deny the Truth of what my Lord of *Anglesey* affirms under his own Hand-writing, *viz.* That the two last Kings told him, that the Book said to be writ by their Father, was not writ by him, but by Dr. *Gauden*. But let me advise you, as a Friend, to be careful how you give the deceased Lord of *Anglesey* the Lie, lest his Sons should understand such your Denial to be *Scandalum Magnatum*, as to their Family, although their Father be dead.

And secondly, I advise you, that when you do again affect to be an Author, to make choice of a better Cause, for that a bad Cause is attended with great Disadvantages.

Jan. 2. 1692. Yours, &c.

A VINDICATION *of Lieutenant-General* Ludlow, *Mr.* Henderſon, *and Dr.* Walker, *againſt the groſs Forgeries of Dr.* Hollingworth.

DOCTOR;

THat *Ludlow* was *no Liar*, was aſſerted by the Title of my laſt to you; upon which you thus Remark, *pag.* 1. of your *further Defence of the King's Book*, &c. 'The Title 'is as falſe as the greateſt part of the Book it ſelf'; which 'you do not doubt but your Reader will be convinced of by 'that time he hath read a little further.

In truth (*Sir*) you have here hit it right, *the Title is as falſe as the Book it ſelf*; but you ought to have made it a great deal falſer to prove me *a Liar*, for the Book is made up of invincible Truths. But before I have done with you, I ſhall convince the World that yours is ſtuff'd with Rancour and Malice, with Unmannerlineſs and Railing, with impudent and falſe Aſſertions, with Slander and baſe Reflections; ſo that it is a diſhonour to the Cauſe of King *Charles* the Firſt, to have no better Champion than you are found to be.

You tell me, (*pag.* 2.) That *the Book is dedicated to a Reverend Kinſman of yours* [Mr. *Luke Milbourn* you mean] under the name of *Wilſon* from *Yarmouth*; and ſay your *Kinſman* aſſures you, there is no Man of that Name in *Yarmouth* but *an ordinary Sailor*; and you believe *the Talent* of ſuch a Man lies otherways than to write ſuch Letters.

I muſt tell you (*Sir*) *An Ounce of Mother-Wit is worth a Pound of Clergy:* This *Wilſon the Sailor* (upon my word) is a very honeſt Fellow; and tho' he be not *Book-learn'd*, he can ſpeak Senſe, and hath ſo done in his Letter to *your Reverend Kinſman*; but he tells me, he knows *Mr. Milbourn* well: that his *Talent* lies to Libelling, and that by writing *Lampoons* upon moſt of the

Women of any Fashion in *Yarmouth*, he became hated there. But to come closer to our Work.

You and I (*Sir*) have been too long rancountring about *the Unaccountable Tyrant*, your *Idolized Martyr*; therefore I have now taken a Resolution to put an end to that Contrast, and hope to do it so effectually, as not only to ease the World for the future of the burden of your lewd Scriblings, but also (and that without the help of an *Act* of *Parliament*) to shame you out of your wonted Practice of *Railing and Lying upon THE MADDING-DAY.*

In the discharge of this Undertaking, I shall briefly animadvert upon your last Pamplet, entituled, *The Character of King* Charles *the First, from the Declaration of Mr.* Alexander Henderson (*Principal Minister of the Word of God at* Edinburgh, *and Chief Commissioner from the Kirk of* Scotland *to the Parliament and Synod of* England) *upon his Death-bed: With a further Defence of the King's Holy Book. To which is annex'd Some short Remarks upon a vile Book, call'd* Ludlow *no Liar*; *With a Defence of the King from the Irish Rebellion.* By *Richard Hollingworth*, D. D. A plausible Title upon my word, *good Doctor:* But how miserably you have fallen short and failed, I proceed to shew to the impartial Reader, and doubt not but he will agree, that your Talent to answer my Books, is only just as Mice and Moths do, Nibble the Margins, and leave your Excrement on a Page or two, and so retire.

You begin, addressing to *the Right Honourable the Marchioness of* Carmarthen. Now were not you *a Clown*, *a Dunce*, *or a Person ill-affected* to their *Majesties*, (I mean *King William* and *Queen Mary*, for I know no other rightful Soveraigns) you would have stiled her *Most Honourable. Right Honourable*, indeed She was whilst *Countess* of *Danby*; but I must tell you, that at the time when her *Noble Lord* was eminently instrumental in the *dethroning* the late *King* for *Misgovernment*, and in the Promotion of their present *Majesties* to the Throne, this Excellent *Lady*, to express her Zeal to the *Prince* of *Orange*, took upon her self the care of preparing *St. James's* House for his *Highnesses* Reception, and employed her Maidens in Washing and Rubbing the Rooms, *&c.* in which She (to say no more) overlook'd them, and took special care to have the Lodgings very well dried; lest his Royal Highness should, in that dead time of Winter, take Cold, before he had compleated

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ed our Deliverance. Now as her *Ladyship* had hereby merited Additional Honour, she was quickly after advanc'd to the degree of *Marchioness*, and so became *Most Honourable*; but your want of *Breeding*, *Understanding*, or *Loyalty*, makes you to stifle that to which She was deservedly entituled by their *Majesties Patent*.

But to proceed; you tell my *Lady Marchioness* of your undertaking *the Vindication of the Name and Memory of King* Charles *the First*, and that you are so far from being weary of *the Task*, 'that you thank *God*, every fresh Provocation gives you the 'pleasure, as well as advantage, of knowing and understanding 'the incomparable Merits of that great Man better, and the 'Courage to communicate them to others. And amongst ma- 'ny other things that have come to your hands, since you be- 'gun *the Defence* of this great *Prince*; *this*, for the sake of which 'you make bold to give her *Ladyship* trouble, *is one of the great- 'est and fullest that you ever saw*, and no doubt will be satisfacto- 'ry to all sorts of Men, because of the Person who was the *Au- 'thor* of it; Namely, *the Chief Person of the Presbyterian Party in* 'Scotland, and the most employed by them for setting up and 'vindicating their *Kirk-Discipline*. You further tell her *Ladyship*, 'that you have shewn it, to several Persons of great *Names*, and 'at *great Posts* in Your *Church*, who were all as mightily taken 'with it, so desirous it should be Reprinted, *that the World might* 'see how unjustly this great Person is dealt with all. ——— That as 'soon as you resolved to reprint it, you at the same time resolved 'it should come out under her Honour's Umbrage and Protection.

After you have transcribed *the Sham Declaration*, which is stiled, *The Character of King* Charles *the First*, dismissing her *Ladyship*,

You inform your Reader (*pag.* 1.) that this *Declaration* of *Mr. Henderson*'s was communicated to you some weeks ago, by the Reverend Mr. *Lampleugh*, Son to the late *Archbishop of York*.

I Resolve (*Sir*) to use you mercifully; in regard that this may probably come to your hands about the 30*th* of next *January*, when I am sure your Thoughts must be perplex'd how to buoy up your *Martyr*'s Reputation, and your own; and therefore shall not take this piece of *Forgery* to pieces to remark upon it; but will come close to the Matter, and shew you how, by your *Folly* or *Malice*, you have exposed your self to the just

Censure

Censure of being *a gross Liar and Calumniator, led by the Spirit of the Accuser of the Brethren:* You may think this to be harsh, but anon it will be fix'd upon you.

Upon my first reading this pretended *Vindication*, I saw many visible Marks of *Forgery* in it; but that I might obtain better Information thereof, I sent to a grave and worthy Gentleman who lived in *Scotland* about that time, and was very conversant in the great Affairs of that Kingdom, from whom I received a long Letter, wherein he tells me, 'That Mr. *Henderson*, ever of a 'Presbyterian, became a Convert to *Episcopacy*, or that Govern-'ment, as his Repentance would insinuate, I do in no kind believe; 'or that he was the Author of that *Panegyrical Declaration* in the 'printed Paper, which I look upon as forged, to serve a turn, and 'salve Dr. *Hollingworth*'s Reputation ——.

'Mr. *Henderson* was a Scotish Man, and this *Declaration*, *both as 'to Words, Stile and Matter, plainly and elegantly English, and not 'Scotish.* There are indeed the words *Kirk* and *State* twice men-'tioned in it, which are *Scotish* Terms: But there is also *Church* and '*Commonwealth*, which is a Phrase rarely if ever used by that Na-'tion, especially at that time when a Commonwealth was not 'dream'd of: And there is one Word more which is Scotish, *viz.* '*Excome.* And besides that I do not observe any other. But for 'the *Panegyrical* Part of it, I judg Mr. *Henderson* was too prudent 'a Man to concern himself with the hidden things and Intreagues 'of that King's Life, to make a *Declaration* of them to the World; 'his coming hither being upon more momentous Matters: and I 'never heard of this *Declaration* before, either there or here. And 'I do further believe, if it had been real and true, whether printed 'in *Scotland* or *England*, the World would have been full of it; 'and the *Cavaliers* of that Age were neither so blind or weak in 'Judgment, but they knew how to magnify and improve it to the 'Glory of the *Idolized King*, and vilifying and disgracing that poor 'Man, that Cause, and that Party, in him.

'Moreover, there are three or four Words more that confirm 'my Opinion, that it is a mere Piece of *Forgery*, and not Mr. *Hen-'derson*'s, viz. *God's Anointed*, an Epithet which the Church of 'Scotland never allowed; though never so Ceremoniously or Jew-'ishly performed by our *Archbishop* or *High-Priest*. And 2*dly*. The 'magnifying him for his great Zeal at the *Tuesday-Sermons*, in 'Commemoration of his *Father's* Deliverance from *Gowry*'s Con-'spiracy,

'ſpiracy, which the wiſer Heads of that Nation never did believe,
'but rather the contrary.

But, Doctor, to come home to you, I will now open your Eyes, though I break your Heart. At a *General Aſſembly* of the Kirk of *Scotland*, held at *Edinburgh* in 1648, Complaint being made of the publiſhing this wicked Libel: *Seſſ.* 25. A Committee was appointed for examining a ſcandalous Pamphlet, falſly put forth under the Name of Mr. *Alexander Henderſon.* Read now, to your eternal Confuſion, the Sentence paſs'd upon this your ſo highly admired *Vindication*, by an Act of that Aſſembly.

Auguſt 7, 1648. Antemeridiem, Seſſ. 31.

'*The Aſſemblies Declaration of the Falſhood and Forgery of a*
'*lying ſcandalous Pamphlet, put forth under the Name of*
'*their Reverend Brother Maſter* Alexander Henderſon *af-*
'*ter his Death.*

'THE *General Aſſembly* of this *Kirk* having ſeen a
'printed Paper, intituled, *The Declaration of Mr.*
'Alexander Henderſon, *principal Miniſter of the Word of*
'*God at* Edinburgh, *and chief Commiſſioner for the Kirk of*
'Scotland *to the Parliament and Synod of* England, *made up-*
'*on his Death-bed.* And taking into their ſerious Conſide-
'ration how many *groſs Lies* and *impudent Calumnies* are
'therein contained; out of the tender Reſpect which they
'do bear to *his Name*, (*which ought to be very precious to them*
'*and all Poſterity, for his faithful Service in the great Work*
'*of Reformation in theſe Kingdoms, wherein the Lord was*
'*pleaſed to make him eminently inſtrumental*;) and leſt
'through *the Malice* of ſome, and *Ignorance* of others, the
'ſaid *Pamphlet* ſhould gain Belief among the weaker ſort,
'they have thought fit to make known and declare, con-
'cerning the ſame, as followeth.

'That *after due Search and Trial*, they do find that their
'worthy Brother Maſter *Alexander Henderſon* did, from
'the

'the time of his coming from *London* to *Newcastle*, till the 'last Moment of his Departure out of this Life, *upon all 'Occasions manifest the Constancy of his Judgment touching 'the Work of Reformation in these Kingdoms*; namely in all 'his Discourses and Conferences with his *Majesty*, and 'with his *Brethren*, who were imployed with him in the 'same Trust at *Newcastle*: In his Letters to the *Commissio-'ners* at *London*; and particularly in his last Discourse to 'his *Majesty*, at his departing from *Newcastle*, being very 'weak, and greatly decayed in his natural Strength. 'When he was come from *Newtastle* by Sea to this King-'dom, he was in such a weak, worn and fail'd Condition, 'as it was evident to all who saw him, that he was not able 'to frame any such Declaration; for he was so spent, that 'he died within eight Days after his Arrival; and all that 'he was able to speak in that time, did clearly shew his '*Judgment of, and Affection to the Work of Reformation, 'and Cause of God, to be every way the same then that it was 'in the Beginning and Progress thereof*; as divers Reverend 'Brethren who visited him, have declared to this *Assembly*; 'and particularly *two Brethren* who constantly attended 'him from the time he came home, till his Breath expired. 'A further Testimony may be brought from *a short Con-'fession of Faith* under his Hand, found amongst his Papers, 'which is expressed as his last Words, wherein among other 'Mercies he declareth himself *most of all obliged to the Care 'and Goodness of God, for calling him to believe the Promises 'of the Gospel, and for exalting him to be a Preacher of them 'to others; and to be a willing, though weak Instrument in this 'great and wonderful Work of Reformation, which he earnest-'ly beseeched the Lord to bring to a happy Conclusion.* Other 'Reasons may be added from *the Levity of the Stile, and 'manifest Absurdities* contained in that Paper. Upon Con-'sideration of all which, *this Assembly doth condemn the said 'Pamphlet as forged, scandalous and false. And further, de-*

'*clare*

'clare the Author and Contriver of the same, to be void of 'Charity and a good Conscience, and A GROSS LIAR and 'Calumniator, led by the Spirit of the Accuser of the Bre-'thren.

Your humble Servant, *Doctor*: how like you this? Here you see that you may be mistaken as well as another Man, and that I had good Authority to tell you, as I did even now, that I should prove you a *gross Liar and Calumniator*. And let me ask you, Were you in your right Wits, do you think, to fool away the *Glorious Martyr's Cause* (with your Interest at St. *James*'s into the bargain) as you have done, in telling my Lady *Marchioness*, that *for the sake of Mr.* Henderson's *Declaration, you made bold to give her Ladyship Trouble?* Nay, which is worse, that *you esteem it the greatest and fullest thing you ever saw for the Defence of that great Prince*; and which is worst of all, *in sending this grand Piece of Forgery out into the World* (as you told her you resolved to do) *under her Umbrage and Protection?*

But lest you should say that I forge this; for I have found that (as King *Charles* II. said of *Jefferies*) *You have the Impudence of ten Carted Whores*: I will inform you where you shall find it; 'tis in *Pag.* 43. of a Book, intituled, *The principal Acts of the General Assembly convened at* Edinburgh, *upon the first Wednesday of* July, 12*th of that Month, in the Year* 1648. Edinburgh, *Printed by* Evan Tyler, *Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty*, An. Dom. 1648.

'Tis also in *Pag.* 420. of a Book, stiled, *The Acts of the General Assembly holden at* Glasgow, *Novemb.* 27, 1638. *and ending at the Assembly holden at* Edinburgh, *August* 6, 1649. *printed* An. 1682.

Well, *Doctor*, what say you now, will you fight any more, or have you enough? If not, I have a Right to give you a *Rising Blow*, and here take it.

This good and great Man Mr. *Henderson* lived and died with Honour; and to speak his high Desert and perpetuate his Memory, a *Monument* was erected over his Grave, in the Burial-Place, within the City of *Edinburgh*, with an honourable Inscription upon it, and which (without the *Act* of the *General Assembly*) would have overthrown the Credit of that *Sham Declaration*, upon which you ground your Defence of the *King*. Now to close this Point, see here what it was.

The Inscriptions on Mr. Alexander Henderson's *Tomb, which were obliterat,* July 7, 1662. *were these:*

[*On the East Side* High.]

M. S.

D. Alexandri Hendersoni Regi à sacris Edenburgensis Ecclesiæ Pastoris; ibidem Academiæ Rectoris; Academiæ Andreanæ Alumni, Amplificatoris, Patroni.

[*Underneath*]

QUI contra grassantes per fraudem & tyrannidem Prælatos, Libertatis & Disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ Propugnator fuit acerrimus, Superstitionis juxta & succrescentium sectarum malleus; Religionis cultusque divini purioris, vindex & assertor constantissimus; in quæ cum omni cura & cogitatione incumbens, assiduos tum in patria, tum in vicino Angliæ Regno labores Ecclesiæ utiles, sibi gloriosos, exantlavisset,

Extremum Spiritum effudit,

Die 19 Augusti, Anno 1646.

Ætatis 63.

[*Then turning to the South, on the upper part this was written.*]

Hanc Quisquis urnam transiens spectaveris,
Ne negligenter aspice;
Hic Bustum magni cernis Hendersonii,
Pietatis hic Bustum vides.

[*Then turning to the West, on the upper part this was written*]

Reader bedew thine Eyes,
Not for the Dust here lies,
It quicken shall again,
And still in Joy remain;
But for thy self, the Church and States,
Whose Woes this Dust prognosticates.

[*Then turning to the North Side, on the lower part this was written.*]

Vir fuit divinus ac plane eximius, & cum omni virtutum genere, tum Pietate imprimis, Eruditione, Prudentia illustris; Regi serenissimo & utriusque Regni ordinibus juxta charus. Cui hoc Monumentum pietatis, ergo erigendum curavit, Georgius Hendersonus ex Fratre Nepos: ipse sibi æternum in animis bonorum reliquit.

The

The last Monument.

M. S.

Of Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, Chaplain to his Majeſty, Miniſter of *Edinburgh*, Rector of the Univerſity there, Scholar, Patron and Benefactor of the Univerſity of St. *Andrews*.

HE *was one of the greateſt* Champions *of* Church-Liberty *and* Diſcipline, *againſt the* Fraud *and* Tyranny *of the* raging Prelats; *the* Maul *of* Superſtition *and* Sectarianiſm, *and a* conſtant Aſſerter *of the* Purity *of Worſhip and Religion*; *for which he laboured with the utmoſt Application both of Body and Mind in* this *and the Neighbouring Kingdom of* England; *and being thus taken up in* Works, *no leſs* glorious *to himſelf than* profitable *to the* Church, *he reſigned his Spirit to him who gave it*,

Auguſt *the* 19th, 1646.

Aged 63.

Which may be Engliſhed;

Stay Paſſenger! behold with mournful Eye,
Here great, good, learned Henderſon *doth lie.*

In Proſe thus:

Whoſoever thou art that paſſeſt by this Monument,
Take not a ſlight look of it;
For here thou ſeeſt the Sepulchre of Great Henderſon,
Nay the Burial-Place of Piety it ſelf.

He was a Man truly excellent and divine, famous for all ſorts of Vertue, but chiefly for Piety, Learning and Prudence, equally reſpected by his moſt ſerene Majeſty and the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. This Monument is erected to him by his Nephew George Henderſon, *from a Senſe of his Duty: but he hath left an everlaſting Monument to himſelf in the Minds of all good Men.*

Take now (*Sir*) one undeniable Argument more, that great *Mr. Henderſon* lived and died *a Presbyterian*. In the very Year of your *Revolt*, 1662, when *Prelacy* was afreſh obtruded upon them againſt their ancient Laws, and contrary to the King's ſolemn Oath, this famous *Inſcription* was razed out, by the procurement of the raging Biſhops.

Nevertheleſs, my Lady *Marchioneſs* hath it under your hand, that *Mr. Henderſon* was an *Apoſtate*; and that *you have nothing better than this to ſhew the World, how unjuſtly that great Perſon, King* Charles *the Firſt, was dealt with.*

In truth (*Doctor*) you have here ſpoil'd all that ever you ſaid for your *Martyr*; and I am ſure you might have gathered better Matter for his *Defence* out of the Famous Hiſtory of *the Shifts of Reynardine* the Son of *Reynard* the Fox.

Well, *Sir*, to detain you no longer amongſt theſe *naughty Presbyterians*, for you declare your hatred of them, We will take our leave of *Scotland*, and take *Ireland* in our way home.

I find a Promiſe in your Title Page, of *A Defence of the King from the Iriſh Rebellion*, and reſolve to ſee whether you can act your Part better among the *Tories*, than you did among the *Whigs*.

You ſay, *Pag.* 22. *The Iriſh Rebellion is falſly and ſcandalouſly imputed to King* Charles *the Firſt*; and to prove it, you print at large a Letter of the *Secretary of State* to the *Lords Juſtices*, concerning ſome Informations of Danger in *Ireland*, above half a Year before the Rebellion, to awaken them to take all poſſible care to prevent it. Then your 24*th Page* begins thus. *Dr.* Ker, *Dean of* Ardagh, *his Depoſition concerning the Calumny thrown upon King* Charles *the Martyr, for giving a Commiſſion to the Rebels in* Ireland. Of this you ſay you are aſſured by a conſiderable *Dignitary* of that Kingdom yet alive. Am I yet at liberty to chuſe whether I will take your Word or not, good Doctor? If I am, to deal plainly with you, I will not, and that for more Reaſons than one; you are too apt to *Fib* on the *Martyr's* ſide; and here I want the *Dignitary* your *Witneſs's* Name: and when you tell me it, and paſs your Word that he has ſworn to it, I ſhall ne're the more credit it, and that for a ſubſtantial Reaſon; for you prevaricate in this very Matter, the Title (which to deceive your Reader) you give to a very long Narrative, you call *Dr.* Ker *Dean of* Ardagh's *Depoſition*: But when I come to read it, it begins, *I* John Ker, *&c. do declare as followeth*, &c. And concludes, *All that*

I

I have written, I declare to be true, and am ready, if thereunto required, upon my corporal Oath, to attest the Truth of every Particular of it. And in testimony thereof, do hereunto subscribe my Hand, and affix my Seal, this 28th *day of* Feb. 1681. Is there not *Knavery* in this, *Doctor?* tho' 'tis possible you may be so ignorant as not to know whether a *Marchioness* be *Right Honourable*, or *Most Honourable*; yet you do know that there's a little difference between *a Deposition* and *a Certificate*; but this was to grace your bad Cause. Well, though I know not your *Witness*, nor much regard your Story, yet I will answer it with a credible Testimony, if you will take the Pains to read what King *Charles* the 2*d* says in the Case, for that will best shew what Countenance King *Charles* the First had given the Irish Rebellion.

CHARLES R.

RIght Trusty and well-beloved Cousins and Counsellors, &c. we greet you well. How far we have been from interposing on the behalf of any of our *Irish* Subjects, who by their miscarriages in the late Rebellion in that Kingdom of *Ireland*, had made themselves unworthy of our Grace and Protection, is notorious to all Men; and we were so jealous in that particular, that shortly after our return into this our Kingdom, when the Marquess of *Antrim* came hither to present his Duty to us, upon the Information we received from those Persons who then attended us, by a Deputation from our Kingdom of *Ireland*, or from those who at that time owned our Authority there, that the Marquess of *Antrim* had so mis-behaved himself towards us, and our late Royal Father of blessed memory, that he was in no degree worthy of the least Countenance from us, and that they had manifest and unquestionable Evidence of such his Guilt: Whereupon we refused to admit the said Marquess so much as into our Presence, but on the contrary committed him Prisoner to our Tower of *London*; where after he had continued several Months under a strict restraint, upon the continued Information of the said Persons, we sent him into *Ireland*, without interposing the least on his behalf, but left him to undergo such a Trial and Punishment, as by the Justice of that our Kingdom should be found due to his Crime, expecting still that *some heinous Matter* would be objected and proved against him, to make him uncapable, and to deprive him of that Favour and Protection from us, which

we

we know *his former Actions and Services had merited.* After many months attendance there, and (we presume) after such Examinations as were requisite, he was at last dismissed without any Censure, and without any transmission of Charge against him to us, and with a Licence to transport himself into this Kingdom; We concluded that it was then time to give him some instance of our Favour, and to remember the many Services he had done, and the Sufferings he had undergone, for his Affections and Fidelity to our Royal Father and our Self, and that it was time to redeem him from those Calamities, which yet do lie as heavy upon him since as before our happy Return. And thereupon we recommended him to you our Lieutenant, that you should move our Council there, for preparing a Bill to be transmitted to us, *for the Re-investing him* the said Marquess, *in the possession of his Estate* in that our Kingdom, as had been done in some other Cases. To which *Letter*, you our said Lieutenant returned us answer, That you had informed our Council of that our *Letter*, and that you were upon consideration thereof, *unanimously of Opinion, that such a Bill ought not to be transmitted to us*, the Reason whereof would forthwith be presented to us from our Council. After which time we received the inclosed *Petition* from the said Marquess, which we referred to the Considerations and Examinations of the Lords of our Privy Council, whose Names are mentioned in that our *Reference*, which is annexed to the said *Petition*; who thereupon met together, and after having heard the Marquess of *Antrim*, *did not think to make any Report to us*, till they might see and understand the Reasons which induced you not to transmit the Bill we had proposed, which *Letter* was not then come to our Hands. After which time we have received your *Letter* of the 18*th* of *March*, together with several *Petitions* which had been presented to you, as well from the Old *Souldiers* and *Adventurers*, as from the Lady *Marchioness* of *Antrim*, all which we likewise transmitted to the Lords *Referees*; Upon a second *Petition* presented to us by the Lord Marquess, which is here likewise enclosed, commanding our said *Referees* to take the same into their serious consideration, and to hear what the Petitioner had to offer in his own Vindication, and to report the whole matter to us, upon a third *Petition* herein likewise inclosed; we required them to expedite with what speed they could. By which deliberate Proceedings of ours you cannot but observe,

that

that no Importunity how just soever, could prevail with us to bring our self to a Judgment in this Affair, without very ample Information. Our said *Referees*, after several Meetings, and perusal of what hath been offered to them by the said Marquess, have reported unto us, That *they have seen several* Letters, *all of them the Hand-writing of our Royal Father to the said Marquess, and several* Instructions *concerning his treating and joining with the* Irish, *in order to the King's Service*, by reducing to their Obedience, and by drawing some Forces from them for the Service of *Scotland*. That besides the *Letters* and *Orders* under his Majesty's Hand, they have received sufficient Evidence and Testimony of several *private Messages and Directions sent from our Royal* Father, *and from our Royal* Mother, *with the Privity and with the Directions of the King our* Father; *by which they are perswaded, that whatever Intelligence, Correspondence or Actings, the said Marquess had with the Confederate* Irish Catholicks, *was directed or allowed by the said* Letters, Instructions *and* Directions; *and that it manifestly appears to them, that* THE KING OUR FATHER WAS WELL PLEASED WITH WHAT THE MARQUESS DID, AFTER HE HAD DONE IT, AND APPROVED THE SAME.

This being the true State of the Marquess his Case, and there being nothing proved upon the first Information against him, nor any thing contained against him in your Letter of *March* 18, but that you were informed he had put in his Claim before the Commissioners appointed for executing the *Act of Settlement*; and that if his Innocency be such as is alledged, there is no need of transmitting such a Bill to us, as is desired; and that if he be *Nocent*, it consists not with the Duty which you owe to us, to transmit such a Bill, as if it should pass into a Law, must needs draw a great Prejudice upon so many Adventurers and Souldiers, which are, *as is alledged*, to be therein concerned. We have considered of the *Petition* of the *Adventurers* and *Souldiers*, which was transmitted to us by you; the Equity of which consists in nothing, but that *they have been peaceably in Possession, for the space of seven or eight Years, of those Lands which were formerly the Estate of the Marquess of* Antrim, *and others, who were all engaged in the late* Irish Rebellion; *and that they shall suffer very much, and be ruined, if those Lands should be taken from them.* And we have likewise considered another *Petition* from several Citizens of *London*, near sixty in number, directed to our self, wherein they desire, that the *Marquess* his Estate may be made liable to the payment of his just Debts, that so they may not be ruined in the Favour of the

the present Possessors, who (they say) are but a few Citizens and Souldiers, who have disbursed very small Sums thereon. Upon the whole matter no Man can think we are less engaged by our Declaration, and by the Act of Settlement, to protect those who are *Innocent*, and who have faithfully endeavoured to serve the *Crown*, how unfortunate soever, than to expose to Justice those who have been really and maliciously *Guilty*. And therefore we cannot in Justice, but upon the *Petition* of the Marquess of *Antrim*, and after the serious and strict Inquisition into his Actions, declare unto you, That WE DO FIND HIM INNOCENT FROM ANY MALICE OR REBELLIOUS PURPOSE AGAINST THE CROWN; *and that what he did by way of Correspondence, or Compliance with the* Irish *Rebels, was in order to the Service of our Royal* Father, *and warranted by his Instructions, and the Trust reposed in him; and that the Benefit thereof accrued to the Service of the Crown,* and not to the particular Advantage and Benefit of the *Marquess*. And as we cannot in Justice deny him *this Testimony*, so we require you to transmit our *Letter* to our Commissioners, that they may know our Judgment in this Case of the Lord of *Antrim*, and proceed accordingly. And so we bid you heartily farewel.

Given at our Court at White-Hall, *July* 10. *in the* 15th *Year of our Reign*, 1663.

To our Right Trusty and Right entirely Well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, James *Duke of* Ormond, *our Lieutenant General, and General Governour of our Kingdom of* Ireland, *and to the Lords of our Council of that our Kingdom.*

By his Majesty's Command,

HENRY BENNET.

Entred at the Signet Office, *July* 13, 1663.

Now to shew what Effect this had, and what the Marquess's true Case was, I must engage you to read a Copy of a Letter which fully states it, as follows.

Dublin,

Dublin, Aug. 22. 1663.

Ever Honoured Sir,

LAst *Thursday* we came to Trial with my Lord Marques of *Antrim*, but according to my Fears (which you always surmised to be in vain) he was by the King's Extraordinary and Peremptory *LETTER of Favour* restored to his Estate, as *an Innocent Papist*. We proved eight Qualifications in the *Act of Settlement* against him, the least of which made him uncapable of being restored as *Innocent*. We proved,

1. *That he was to have a hand in suprizing the Castle of* Dublin, *in the Year* 1641.

2. *That he was of the Rebels Party before the* 15th *of* September, 1643. *which we made appear by his hourly and frequent Intercourse with* Renny O Moore, *and many others*; *being himself the most notorious of the said Rebels.*

3. *That he entred into the Roman Catholick Confederacy before the Peace in* 1643.

4. *That he constantly adhered to the* Nuncio's *Party, in opposition to his Majesty's Authority.*

5. *That he sate from time to time in the Supreme Council of* Kilkenny.

6. *That he signed that execrable Oath of Association.*

7. *That he was commissionated, and acted as Lieutenant General, from the said Assembly at* Kilkenny.

8. *That he declared by several Letters of his own penning, himself in conjunction with* Owen Ro Oneale, *and a constant Opposer to the several Peaces made by the Lord Lieutenant with the* Irish.

We were seven hours by the Clock in proving our Evidence against him; but at last the King's *Letter* being opened, and read in Court, *Rainsford*, one of the Commissioners, said to us, *That the King's Letter on his behalf was Evidence without exception*, and thereupon declared him to be an *Innocent Papist*.

This Cause, *Sir*, hath (tho many Reflections have passed upon the Commissioners before) more startled the Judgments of all Men, than all the Trials since the beginning of their sitting; and it is very strange and wonderful to all of the *Long Robe*, that the King should give such a *Letter*, having divested himself of that Authority, and reposed the Trust in the Commissioners for that purpose: And likewise it is admired, that the Commissioners having taken so-

lemn Oaths, *to execute nothing but according to, and in pursuance of the Act of Settlement*, should, barely upon his Majesty's *Letter*, declare the Marquess *innocent*.

To be short; there never was so great *a Rebel*, that had so much Favour from so good a King: And it is very evident to me, though young, and scarce yet brought upon the Stage, that the Consequence of these things will be very bad; and if *God* of his extraordinary Mercy do not prevent it, War, and (if possible) greater Judgments, cannot be far from us; where Vice is Patroniz'd, and *Antrim*, *a Rebel upon Record*, and so lately and clearly proved one, should have no other Colour for his Actions but the King's *own Letter*; *which takes off all Imputations from* Antrim, *and lays them totally upon his* own Father.

Sir, I shall by the next, if possible, send you over one of our Briefs against my Lord, by some Friend: It's too large for a Pacquet, it being no less in Bulk than a Book of Martyrs. I have no more at present, but refer you to the *King's Letter*, herewith sent.

You see this, *Doctor*; and because (*pag.* 14.) *You challenge me to shew you any Archive or Publick Record for any thing which I offer*, (though I am to take your idle, false and forged Assertions, upon your bare Word) I resolved to humour you, and therefore have told you that you may carry this Letter of the King's, and examine it with the *Record* at the *Signet-Office* in *Whitehall*; and if you find it not there, or that 'tis not a true Copy, I doubt not but I shall hear of it upon your *MADDING-DAY*.

Now, (not to trouble you with the Repetition of what honest *Wilson* the *Yarmouth-Sailor* told your Reverend Cous. *Milbourne*, in Relation to this horrid *Irish Rebellion*, which is too hot for you to handle; for you speak not one Word in Answer to it) I shall desire you to read once more a few things which a very worthy Gentleman not long since sent you in a Tract, intituled, *The Plain Dealer*. He observed to you (*pag.* 9.) that the most partial Writers of those Times could not help taking notice of some of your *Martyr*'s odious Practices, *viz. Caressing and countenancing the Heads of that Rebellion; admitting and incouraging the Negotiators of a Cessation of Arms with the bloody Rebels, at a time when the whole Bent of his Arms, for the Good of Mankind, should have been imployed for their Destruction: Admitting of their Counsels for the Interception*

of

of Provisions designed thither, when the miserable Necessities of the Protestants there most wanted them: And also seizing the Money raised in the Country by Loans, for Relief of that afflicted Kingdom, and converting it to other Uses.

And he tells you, (*pag.* 10.) *That he can make it appear, that Money was returned by your Martyr, into* Ireland, *to some of the Heads of the Rebellion*; and subjoyns, that *it is something unhappy for you, Doctor, that the Gentleman is yet alive that owns he returned the Money; that he is a Person of Learning, Honesty and Honour, and will be believed: that he would name him, but that he hath too great a Value for him, to do it without his Leave*; *and cautions you not to deny it in your vilifying way, threatning if you do, the Gentleman will give you an Answer, and the Truth of that Affair.*

Were I your Enemy, *Doctor*, I would now instigate you to fall upon him, as you did upon me at first, and say, *'Tis a Lie*; *are not you a base Fellow, a lewd Miscreant, to talk at this rate of so great and good a Prince?* But as your Friend (and you should find me so, if you were not so silly as to quarrel with them that love you) I advise you not to accept the *Challenge*, lest, to the Disgrace of the Cause you have so long pretended to defend, you should bring the Truth to Light in this Matter, as you have indiscreetly and most unhappily done in all others you have treated of. Having said this, you are to provoke this Gentleman at your Peril.

I think, Sir, We have pretty well dispatch'd the *Scotish* and *Irish Affairs*; I therefore return home. Your *Title-Page* promises *a further Defence of the King's Holy Book.* This is to be a *Trial of Skill* between a *King* and a *Bishop*, and I am to see how 'tis performed.

Sir, I cannot forbear smiling when I read your Words, (*pag.* 4.) *All Men do not think fit in Undertakings of Danger and Difficulty, to make their Wives acquainted with every thing they do, in order to save themselves.*

Why so slightly (good *Doctor*) of your *comfortable Importance?* Once upon a time you were in great Danger and Difficulty; and to save your self, you were resolving to comply and read *King* James's *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*; but happily acquainting your Wife with it, she very worthily beat you off; and then you would have wrought upon your *Curate* to do it, but 'twas honestly rejected by him. You know that if you deny it, I can send you his Name. This is by the By.

You affirm, (*pag.* 4.) *Mr.* Clifford's *Evidence is as clear as the Sun at Noon-Day, and so you doubt not will continue, notwithstanding all this fooliſh Barking at it.* We will try that anon, and then 'twill appear who is the *fooliſh Barker*, and *who wanting Reaſon, falls to little and contemptible Cavils*, as your next Words are.

In the next place (*pag.* 6.) you ſay, 'You challenge me, or 'any Man to deny the Truth of one of your incredible Sto-'ries, becauſe you had it from the Mouth of a *Non-conformiſt* 'Miniſter, who is of ſuch *Eſteem and Credit* in *London*, that you 'are ſure they will bluſh to deny what he affirms; if you ſhould 'name him; which you are ready to do when called by *Autho-'rity.*

For ſhame, *Doctor*, ſay not this; it ought not to be told in *Gath.* What! you converſe with a *Non-Con-Miniſter*, nay and believe him too? 'tis incredible! you muſt not put thus upon me; nor will I believe it, till you name this *Non-Con*, becauſe I am of Opinion that the moſt of them, who are of *Eſteem* and Credit, will bluſh to be ſeen in your Company: and if you will not ſub-mit to my Authority, which requires you to name him, you loſe the benefit of this Topping Story.

Pag. 10. You talk much at the rate you but now did, 'There 'is *a Reverend and Learned Miniſter* now of *London*, (ſay you) 'who does aſſure me, that *a Lady of good Quality* told him, ſixteen 'Years ago, that being in diſcourſe with *Mrs. Gauden*, She told 'her, that *She had a great Concern for the Eternal State of her 'Husband, becauſe he pretended to be the Author of that Book*; when 'to her knowledg, he never writ it. The *Reverend Perſon tells 'me*, he has forgot the *Ladies* Name, or elſe he would freely have 'had his own mentioned; but the Story it ſelf he very well re-'members; and *I am ſure he is to be credited as much as any Man that 'wears a Gown.*

Horrid Impudence! I thought before I came to the Gown, that this was not your *Non-Con*, becauſe you tell me he is *Reverend and Learned.* I can and do affirm this is a moſt notorious Lie; but not to pretend to command, I earneſtly beſeech you to name this *Gown-man*, and that for your own ſake, for elſe all the World muſt be-lieve that you forge this Romantick Story of the unknown Lady.

'The next thing (ſay you) I produce againſt Dr. *Walker*, is 'Mr. *Long*'s Evidence, and his atteſting in two Letters, that Dr. '*Gauden* did affirm to him, that he was fully convinc'd that the

'Book

'Book was intirely the *King's* own Work; and what says my An-
'swerer to this stabbing Evidence? for so truly it is, and I am sure
'gives the Faction a great deal of Vexation and foaming Rage.
'——— Upon a just Enquiry I find Mr. *Long* to be a *grave, learned,*
'*serious and pious Divine*, in the Esteem among his Brethren, that
'I will venture again to say, that it is no Disparagement to Dr.
'*Walker*'s Memory, to assert that *his Testimony is to be heeded before*
'*Dr.* Walker's; and *I am not willing to be provoked* (because the one
'of them is dead) *to give my Reasons for it.*

Then for once, *Doctor*, and not to use it, rather than suffer you to blacken the Memory of so good a Man as Dr. *Walker* was, I will venture to provoke you, by telling you (as you oft have me) you speak falsly. And so I doubt not but *Long* did in his Relation in the two Letters: He and you (who live 150 Miles asunder) may exchange Certificates as oft as you please of each others *Gravity, Learning and Piety*; but neither of you can produce one Neighbour of Credit, who will allow you to merit that deserved great Character which Dr. *Walker* ever had. I pray bring out those horrid Crimes, which in a most malicious manner you oft remotely hint at to charge Dr. *Walker* with; then, and not till then, the World may judg of them: till you do it, I say (as 'tis in the Fable) *when the Lion is dead, the Ass will kick and insult over him.* I say no more of *Tom Long of Exeter* at this time, than that I shall presently shew his Story (with which you so highly vapour) is not within any possible Degrees of Truth. He and I have a great Reckoning to make up, and I shall take an Opportunity to talk with him, and so with my Service let him know.

In short, Sir, though you pretend to make *a farther Defence of the King's Holy Book*, (as you call it) you advance nothing which sounds like Truth (nor ever did or can) to the Advantage of your Cause, but are here (instead of the *further Defence* which you undertake) running an endless Round, and giving a Repetition of what you had before very rashly and without Consideration written, and which my Friend *Wilson* (the *Yarmouth-Sailor*) hath already fully answered, and to him I refer you: for though what you have now sent out as a further Defence, is in the main a Transcript of what you said before, I delight not to tell a Tale twice, nor will I practise it.

But say what I will, this must be the King's (not Dr. *Gauden*'s) Work; and you tell me *all are Fools or Knaves that deny it:* (well argued

argued Reverend and Learned Sir:) Ay, and good Reason they should; for you had before said (*pag.* 2.) in your *Defence* of that *Book*, against the *Essex Doctor's Assaults*, that *it was for his Holy and Divine Book that that great King was so highly venerated, so deservedly applauded, and indeed upon the score of which the greatest part of his Actions were vindicated.*

Indeed (my good *Doctor*) this way of arguing will prove mischievous; your *Martyr* loses ground hereby, and you leave him void of Pretence to *Veneration* and *Applause*; his Case is forlorn and desperate, and his Actions never to be vindicated.

But say you, *None but Commonwealths-men, Men who will be satisfied with nothing short of the King's and Churches Lands, will talk at this rate.* No honest Man, Sir, now you have so signally contributed to the bringing the Truth of this Matter to Light (for which I con you ten thousand Thanks) will ever hereafter talk otherwise, whatever they did in the Days of their Ignorance.

But what will you say, *Doctor*, if I should now prove you a *Commonwealths-man*, or bid fair for it. You were once a *Presbyterian*, though you have forgot it; and now you know not what you are: therefore it may be a Kindness to you to bring Dr. *Hollingworth* and the *Aldgate-Chaplain* acquainted. Will you stand to it, *Doctor*, whilst I try the Experiment, and not take your Heels and run, as the Foot-Pad lately did, (who set upon my Lady *Lawson's* Maid at *Wanstead*, to strip her) and cry, *a Witch, a Witch*; when the poor Girl, though almost frighted out of her Wits, began to draw *a Circle*, and said, You *Rogue*, if you offer to touch me, I will make you dance here eight and forty Hours.

You have here, *Doctor*, wittingly and maliciously set the *King* and *Bishop* together by th' Ears: that must tend to the Destruction of *Monarchy*, for you know the *Church* supports the *Crown*; and that 'tis an approved Maxim, *No Bishop no King*; so that if this will not argue you *a Commonwealths-man*, I scarce can say what will.

Well, Sir, you will have the *Book* to be the *King's*, though 'tis as plain as the Sun in the Firmament that Bishop *Gauden* wrote it; but when you come (*pag.* 11.) to talk of the *Prayer* taken out of *Pembroke's Arcadia*, which is annexed to it, you say, 'I *impudently* 'assert he made use of it in time of his Captivity; but it is a Scandal 'founded in the greatest Malice and ill-Will, to the Reputation 'and Vertue of this great Man; and you say you must acquaint

'your

'your *Reader*, that this *Prayer* was not printed in the first Edition, 'but was *foisted in afterwards by some crafty and designing Person*, on 'purpose to expose the Book, and to lessen that deserved Credit 'and Influence, that they found it had amongst and upon all the wise 'and considering Men of the Kingdom; and therefore you say 'you expect to hear no more of this *base Story* for the time to 'come; or if they will take the Boldness to raise it again, you 'say, you have furnished your Reader with a sufficient Answer to 'it.

Why certainly, *Doctor*, you were not in your right Senses when you wrote this your last Book, for there is hardly one true or sensible Paragraph or Sentence in it; and tho' I find you to be a designing, I am sure you are far from being a Crafty Man. Now you shall see that I am the bold Man that will raise this Story again about the *Accadian Prayer*, and maintain it also, against your impertinent Answer. I agree this *Prayer* was not in the first *Edition* of *Icon Basilice*, but I affirm it was in the second, which Mr. *Royston* printed; this is a truth which Mr. *Milbourn* who help'd to print the Book, hath lately owned upon the sight of one of the second Impression; but that it was *foisted in to expose the Book and lessen its credit*, is as rashly as confidently asserted; for I will shew you an invincible Evidence of its being used by the King. I have look'd into both the Impressions of the Book called *The Works of King* Charles *the First*, in *Folio*, and find this very *Prayer*, intituled, *a Prayer in time of Captivity*, in the 197*th Page* of the Edition printed *Anno* 1662, and in the 93*d Page* of the second Edition. It is the fourth amongst seven Prayers, which have this general Title standing above them, *Prayers used by his Majesty in the time of his Troubles and Restraints*. To this I add, that Mr. *Milton* was the first that discover'd and charg'd the *Prayer* to be stolen, and it was never contradicted till now by you (*Doctor*) who talk at random, little regarding what you say.

Well, we must draw towards an end. You told me, *pag.* 10. that you would give me a *Rowland* for my *Oliver*; why then may not I, *Doctor*, to requite you, (for I hate to be in your Debt) give you an *Oliver* for your *Rowland*.

It is known to many, that one great Argument which perswaded to the putting out the *Icon Basilice*, or Portraiture of the King, in his Name; and not in the true Author's, was, for that

Cromwell.

Cromwell had arrived to a great Reputation with the People, for *Parts and Piety*; and therefore the *King* must in policy appear *Wise* and *Holy*; to that end they here furbish him up, and recommend him to the Credulous and Easy part of Mankind, by Dr. *Ganden*'s *Book*, and that he may appear devout, he pirates upon *Pembrooks Arcadia*, and steals thence *Pamela's Prayer*.

Now having clear'd it up in spite of all that you suggest to the contrary, that the King used this Prayer; and seeing we have been talking of these Tyrants; I will shew you how mine prayed; as it is found in the History called the *Perfect Polititian*, published after King *Charles* the Second's Restoration.

In the Evening before the Death of Oliver *Protector, he was heard to pray thus.*

" LORD, I am a miserable Creature, yet I am in Covenant with " thee through Grace; and I may, I will come unto thee " for thy *People*. *Lord*, thou hast made me (though very un- " worthy) a mean Instrument to do them some Good, and Thee " service; and many of them had too high value of me; tho' " others would be glad of my Fall: but, *Lord*, howsoever thou " disposest of me, do good for them, give consistency of Judg- " ment, one Heart and mutual Love unto them. Let the Name " of *Christ* be glorious throughout the World. Teach those " who look with much affection to thy Instrument, to depend " more upon Thee. Pardon such as delight to trample upon the " Ashes of a Worm; for they are thy People too: And pardon " the folly of this short Prayer, even for *Jesus Christ* his sake.

I challenge you now (*Sweet Doctor*) to search all the *Romances* in your Study, and tell me, if you can, whether this be *a stollen Prayer?* And seeing we have accidentally chopt upon *Cromwell*; I will tell you what Opinion Doctor *Bates* (who by Common Fame, if not upon better Evidence, was taken to be the Man who poison'd *Oliver*) had of him and his Government; and I take it from his Book called *Elench. Mot. Nup. pag.* 292. which he wrote after the Restoration, when he was Physician to King *Charles* the 2*d*. 'tis put down thus.

As for his Government, take this Account from one who was far from flattering him or any of his Actions. ' *Justice* (that we may ' not scourge him beyond his desert) was renewed almost to her

' former

'former Grace and Splendour, as well distributive as commuta-
'tive; the *Judges* executing their Office with Equity and Justice,
'far from Coveteousness; and the *Laws* suffer'd without delay
'or let, to have their full Force upon all (a few excepted, says
'*my Author*, where he himself was immediately concerned.) The
'Lives of Men, outwardly at least, became reformed, either by
'withdrawing the Incentives to Luxury, or by means of the an-
'cient Laws now put in execution. There was also *a strict*
'*Discipline kept in his Court, one could find none here that was either*
'*Drunkard or Whoremaster*; none that was guilty of Extortion or
'Oppression, but he was severely rebuked: Now Trade began to
'flourish; and (to say all in a word) *all* England *over there were*
'*Halcion Days*.

And now, Sir, not to contend whether your *Rowland* or my *Oliver* were the better Man; I affirm, that it is not material to mention those Qualities, in which the one or the other did excel other Men: for as *a wicked Man may be a good King*, so it avails little or nothing unto the People whether or no a wicked *Soveraign* be a good Man himself.

Take one or two of the many Instances which I am able to give you to illustrate what I have said.

Your *Martyr's Father-in-Law*, Henry *the Fourth of* France, was extreamly vicious, and yet he proved to be one of the most Renowned Kings *France* ever had. He was *a great lover of Justice*; an equal Administrator thereof: The most merciful Prince that ever swayed that Scepter: The most beloved *King* in his Life-time, and the most lamented at his Death, not only by his Subjects, but by his Allies. On the other hand;

Philip the Second of *Spain*, was one of the greatest Examples of a Good and Devout Man; and yet he was one of the greatest *Tyrants Spain* ever had, *(such was King* Charles *the First with us)* Four Hours a Day would he pray; nevertheless he would permit his publick Ministers to commit the greatest Cruelties, Tyrannies and Murders that ever were heard of, either in former or succeeding Ages.

Let *a Man* be whatsoever he will, his Publick Actions must give a Testimony of him unto the World, whereby all Men may judg of him; and in that way *(Doctor)* have I proved your *admired vertuous King* to have been *a mighty Nimrod*; 'tis true, and you must bear it.

But I forget my Self, and begin to think that the World will suspect that I am so fallen in love with you, that I am loth to take my leave; but I hope to be excused, in regard this is the last time that you and I are ever to converse.

Would Time permit, I should, for my own Vindication, as to the manner of my treating you, have laid before you a Scheme of your Ungentile and Unchristian Usage of Dr. *Walker*; but I have leisure only to remember you, that he said, *Good Nature, and Good Manners might be overcome with too much ill usage, to cause him to be answer'd as he would not, that accused as he should not.* No words are sharp enough to reprove the Man that rails as you have done.

I suppose by this time you find you have run a-tilt against a Rock, (such is Old *England*'s Cause) and that your Foot is taken in the Net which you had laid for me; therefore (not to fend and prove further with you about the matter) I dismiss you to your Study against the next 30*th* of *January*, but hope you will forbear to compare your *Martyr* to our SAVIOUR, as you have heretofore done; for surely by this time you see reason to acknowledg (as I heretofore informed you Bp *Burnet* did) *It were better if we could have* Job's *Wish, that this day* [YOUR MADDING-DAY] *should perish, and the Shadow of Death should cover it, that it should not see the Dawning of the Day, nor should the Light shine upon it:* It were better to strike it out of the *Kalendar*, and make our *January* terminate at the 29*th*, and add these remaining Days to *February*.

Your humble Servant, Doctor,

October 1. 1692.

EDMUND LUDLOW.

Sir, If this comes to your hands, pray give my due Respects to all true Lovers of *Old England* in *Aldgate Parish*; and if you will impart it to them; or refute any thing in it (if you can) next 30*th* of *January*, you will oblige them and me, for 'tis my desire to have every thing set in its true Light.

A

A manifeſt Proof that Dr. Gauden *(not King* Charles *the First) was the Author of* Icon Baſilice.

THE Publiſher of the foregoing Papers, having, juſt before they were finiſh'd at the Preſs, received the under-written Account of the Author of *Icon Baſilice*; and being fully aſſured of the Truth of the Particulars there put down, he thinks fit to annex it.

A Summary Account of ſome Papers relating to the *Icon Baſilice, or the Portraiture of King* Charles *the Firſt*, now in the hands of *Mr. Arthur North*, Merchant, living at *Tower-hill, London*: Whereby it appears that *Dr. Gauden*, late *Biſhop* of *Exeter*, and afterwards of *Worceſter*, was the *Author* of that Book, and not King *Charles* the Firſt, as the World hath for above forty Years been impoſed upon to believe.

Mr. *North* is a worthy Perſon, and a Member of the Church of *England*: he and Mr. *Charles Gauden* (the Biſhop's Son) married two Siſters; and Mr. *Gauden* dying above ten Years ſince, all his Papers were left with his Widow; and Mr. *North* having Occaſion not long ſince to look amongſt thoſe Papers, for ſome relating to his Siſter in Law's Affairs, found thoſe relating to the *Icon Baſilice* carefully tied up together.

Mr. *North*, by Reaſon of his Marriage, hath had many Years Acquaintance with Biſhop *Gauden*'s Family, and knows that theſe Papers were at firſt given by the Biſhop's Widow to her darling Son *John Gauden*, (who was Apprentice with Sir *Jonathan Dawes*) and that upon his Death they came to the Hands of Mr. *Charles Gauden*. And further, that in his many Years Knowledg of that Family, it hath conſtantly, and without any manner of doubt, been declared that the Biſhop was the Author of the Book.

There are ſeveral Letters and Papers; and I will briefly give as particular an Account as I can of the Contents of each: and for the Truth of what I ſhall here put down, I refer my ſelf to the *Original Papers*, and to thoſe many reverend and worthy Perſons who have read, or been at the Reading of them.

Bishop *Gauden* at the time of K. *Charles* the Second's Restoration, was incumbent of a great Living, (*Bocking* in *Essex*) and was promoted from that *fat Parsonage* to the *lean Bishoprick of* Exeter, which he complained was not sufficient to keep up the Port of a *Bishop*, and thought that by his Merits he might lay claim to a better; and the Death of Dr. *Duppa*, Bishop of *Winchester*, being daily expected, he applied himself to the King with great Importunity, to be translated thither; pleading his Desert, which as is evident from the Papers I mention, could be no other than that of having written a Book, which did such great Service to the *Royal Family*, that King *Charles* II. thought himself obliged to promise him that Bishoprick, though when it became void he gave it to another.

1. There is a Letter from Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Secretary of State, dated in *January* 1660, to Dr. *Gauden*, then Bishop of *Exeter*; wherein the Secretary tells him, that he wrote by the King's Command, to acquaint him that his Majesty had received his Letter; that he had him in his Thoughts, and that he should not long have Cause to complain of his Removal from *Bocking*.

2. There is a Copy of a Letter from the Bishop to the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, dated the 28*th* of *December*, 1661. and also a Copy of a Petition to the King, which by the several Emendations and Interlineations therein (all wrote by the Bishop's own Hand) appears to be the very Original and first Draught.

In these the Bishop sets forth, that he had *a high Rack* [the Bishoprick of *Exeter*] *but empty Manger*; and declares what Hazards he had run of Life and Estate; and what great Advantage had accrued to the *Crown* by his Service: that what he had done was *for the comforting and incouraging of the King's Friends, exposing his Enemies, and converting*, &c. He pleads that *what was done like a King, should have a King-like Retribution*; and instances in the Cases of *Joseph*, *Mordecai*, and *Daniel*, who were honoured and rewarded for the Services they did to the respective Princes, though (as he observes) they were Captives in a strange Land: In particular he observes that *Ahasuerus* was uneasy, till *Mordecai* had had his merited Reward.

3. There is a Copy of a Letter of the *Bishop's* to the Duke of *York*, dated 17 *Jan.* 1661. It strongly urges the great Service he had done, and importunately begs his *Royal Highness* to intercede for him with the *King*, his sole Hope being in his Mediation.

4. There

4. There is an Original Letter from the Lord Chancellor *Hide* to the Bishop of *Exeter*, (all the Chancellor's own Hand-Writing) dated 13 *March*, 1661. It imports that the Chancellor had received several Letters from him: That he was uneasy under the Bishop's Importunity, excuses his not being yet able to serve him; speaks of annexing a *Commendum* to his Bishoprick; and towards the Close it hath this remarkable Expression, *The Particular you mention, has indeed been imparted to me as a Secret; I am sorry I ever knew it, and WHEN IT CEASES TO BE A SECRET, IT WILL PLEASE NONE BUT Mr.* MILTON. This is subscribed,

Edw. Hide C.

5. There is a Letter of Mrs. *Gauden*'s own Hand-writing, after the Death of her Husband (the Bishop) to her Son Mr. *John Gauden*; wherein she tells him, she had sent him an Hogshead of Sider, and directs him to send her down some Pictures by the Man that brought the Sider.

She in that Letter speaks of the Book commonly called the *King's*; she calls it *THE JEWEL*; and tells her Son, that *her Husband hoped to make a Fortune by it*, and wonders it should be doubted whether her Husband wrote it; but says, *she has a Letter of a very great Man's, which will clear it up.*

6. There is a long *Narrative* of Mrs. *Gauden*'s Hand-writing, shewing that her Husband wrote the Book. This she sent to her Son with the Letter wherein she said, she had sent it that she might be a *Clavis* to him.

The *Narrative* sets forth, that after her Husband had wrote the Book, he shew'd it to the Lord *Capel*, who approved it, and was for the printing it; but wish'd the *King* might have a sight of it.

That an Opportunity was taken to convey it to his Majesty, by the Lord Marquess of *Hertford*, when he went to the *Treaty* at the *Isle of Wight*.

That the Marquess, after his Return from thence, told her Husband, that he gave the Book to the *King*; and his *Majesty* did well like it; but was for putting it out, not as his own, but another's. But it being urg'd, that *CROMWEL* and others of the Army *having got a great Reputation with the People for Parts and Piety, it would do best to be in the King's Name.* His Majesty took time to consider of it.

That

That the Marqueſs told her Husband, that he knew not what was become of the Papers; and ſaid, *God* knows what will become of the *King*.

That her Husband not hearing the King's Pleaſure about it, and finding Danger haſtning on him, he having kept a Copy by him, ſent it by one Mr. *Symmonds*, a perſecuted Miniſter, to the Preſs, together with a Letter. That Mr. *Royſton* was the Printer, but did not know but the King wrote it. That part of it was ſeized in the Preſs, together with her Husband's Letter; and Mr. *Symmonds* was taken.

Nevertheleſs, the Work was carried on, and finiſh'd a few days after his Majeſty's Death. That when it was publiſhed, the Parliament was enraged; and her Husband, conceiving his Life and Eſtate to be in danger, fled to Sir *John Wentworth*'s near *Yarmouth*, intending thence to paſs the Seas: but Mr. *Symmonds* falling ſick, and dying ſoon after, not having been examined; and it not being diſcovered that her Husband was concern'd in it, (the Letter which had been taken, having no Name to it) he altered his Purpoſe, and returned home.

That there was an Epiſtle at firſt intended: That the firſt Title was *Suſpiria Regalia*, but chang'd to *Icon Baſilice*; and that there were two Chapters added.

That the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Lord *Capel*, Biſhop *Duppa*, and Biſhop *Morley*, were at firſt the only Perſons privy to it.

That after the King's Reſtoration, Dr. *Morley* told her Huſband, that his Merit was ſuch, that he could ask nothing but he would receive it.

That Biſhop *Duppa* of *Wincheſter* being very ſick, her Husband went to the King, and *acquainted him that he was Author of the Book*; and for the Truth thereof appealed to Biſhop *Duppa* his Majeſty's Tutor, who was yet living; and made an Apology for printing it without his Majeſty's Father's Order, or his; but pleaded the Circumſtances of Time, and the King's Danger.

That his Majeſty told her Husband, That till then he never knew that he wrote it, but thought it was his Father's; yet wondred how he could have time: and obſerved, that *it was wrote like a Scholar as well as like a King*: and ſaid, That if it had been publiſhed ſooner, it might have ſaved his Father's Life. That at the ſame time the King gave him a Promiſe of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*.

That

That he afterwards acquainted the Duke of *York* that he was the Author of that Book which went under his Father's Name; and that the Duke answered, he had thought that his Father wrote it. That her Husband then told his Highness, that the King had promised him the Bishoprick of *Winchester*; and that his Highness assured him *of his Favour*.

That Bishop *Duppa* dying, her Husband applied to the King upon his Promise; but Dr. *Morley*, who had told her Husband that he might have what he would ask, got it; and her Husband was made Bishop of *Worcester*; but having enjoyed it but about half a Year, fell sick, and died.

That she petitioned the King; setting forth, That her Husband left her a Widow, with four Sons and a Daughter: That it cost her Husband 200 l. to remove from *Exeter* to *Worcester*; and prayed his Majesty to bestow the half Years Rents upon her: which he denied, and gave them to another.

I desire my Reader to take notice, that though I am sure I have said nothing in this foregoing Account, but what is in Substance true, yet I will not undertake that I have always hit the very Words; and I heartily wish the Papers themselves may be made publick, whereby this short Account would be justified.

I cannot dismiss this Matter without admiring the remarkable Providence of God, in the several Steps towards the Discovery thereof; which was the Interest of so great a number of Men to have for ever concealed and buried.

1. Had not Dr. *Gauden* been disappointed of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, we should never have heard of his Compiling the *Icon Basilicè*; nor would he ever have bragg'd, *That he had done like a King, if he had had a King-like Retribution:*

2. Had Mrs. *Gauden* but been made Bishop of *Worcester* for half a Year, she would probably have robb'd her Husband of the Glory of this Book, and suffered it to have been for ever a *JEWEL* of the Crown.

3. Had not the late Earl of *Anglesey* shewed the Copy of the Book to the *King* and Duke of *York*; whether to satisfy his Curiosity, or really doubting of the Author; we should for ever have wanted that Testimony of two *Kings*, that their *Father* did not write it; which his *Lordship* prefix'd before his *Icon Basilicè*, in these Words;

King

' King *Charles* the Second, and the Duke of *York*, did both (in ' the last Session of *Parliament* 1675, when I shewed them in the ' Lords House, the written Copy of this *Book*, wherein are some ' Corrections and Alterations, written with the late K. *Charles* the ' First's own Hand) assure me, That this was none of the said *King's* ' Compiling; but made by Dr. *Gauden*, Bishop of *Exeter*: Which I ' here insert for the undeceiving others in this Point; by attesting ' so much under my Hand.

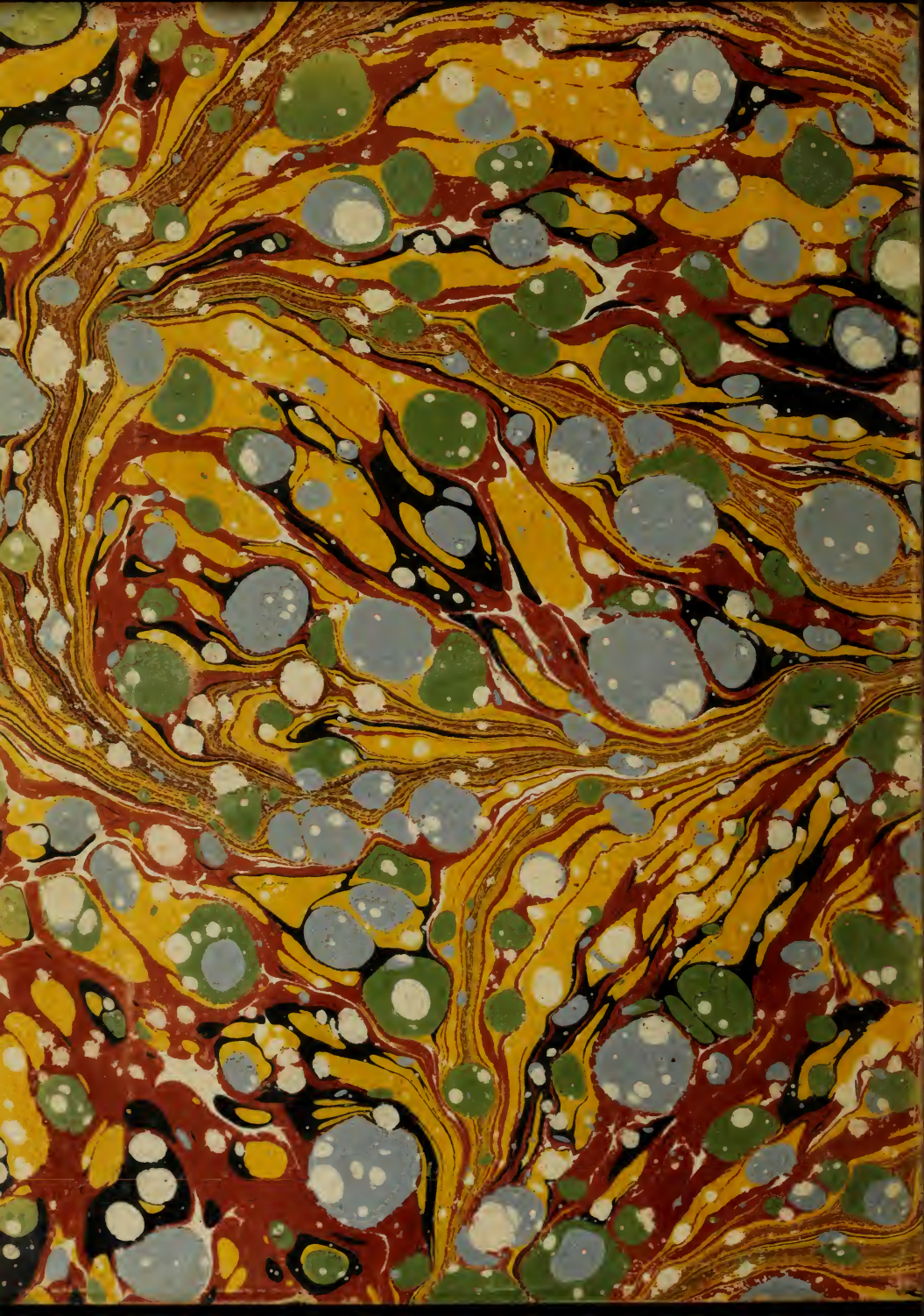
Anglesey.

4. Had not Mr. *Millington* had the disposal of the Earl of *Anglesey*'s Library, and therein of *Icon Basilice*, with that Earl's *Memorandum* in it, in all probability it had been for ever lost.

5. Had not Dr. *Hollingworth*, in a very indecent manner fallen upon Dr. *Walker* in his *first Defence* of King *Charles* I, in answer to *Ludlow*'s First Letter, and affirmed, that it was a *false Story*, which the *Essex* Doctor told; we had never been made happy in the Discovery which Dr. *Walker* made in Print, just before his Death, of the *Author* of that Book.

I conclude with what Dr. *Walker* did admirably say, in reference to the Providence of this Discovery:

' Though *God* had many holy, righteous, gracious Ends to serve ' his Providence by, in the Publication of this Book: —— Yet as I ' find it express'd in this very Book; *Chap.* the last, *pag.* 262, of ' the first Edition; *God's wise Providence* (we know) *oft permits ma-* ' *ny Events, which his revealed Word in no sort approves.* And, I con- ' fess, I *have many cogent Reasons to perswade me, that God was not well* ' *pleased with Dr.* Gauden, *Others, or my Self, for what we contributed* ' *to it.* And though, for the foresaid Ends, he suffer'd it to suc- ' ceed, yet I *KNOW NOT BUT HE MAY HAVE OTHER ENDS* ' *NOW TO SERVE*, by suffering this *Discovery* to be wrung and ' wrested from me, (I had almost said) *by SOME-BODIES impertinent* ' *Affectation to meddle with what he understands not.* Thus spake that good Man.

FINIS.

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